

The Review of English Studies

VOL. VI.—No. 23.

JULY 1930.

IMAGERY IN THE *SIR THOMAS MORE* FRAGMENT

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THE question of the authorship of these now famous three pages of MS. has been examined by experts under a microscope from many points of view, and a claim that we have good reason to think them Shakespeare's has been based on general style and temper, on handwriting tests, on spelling and on the expression of ideas. To this I propose to add a detailed study and comparison of the imagery in this fragment with that in the known work of Shakespeare.

Professor R. W. Chambers, in his masterly essay on the expression of ideas, especially political ideas, in the three pages and in Shakespeare, covers obliquely a portion of the ground, which I will frankly traverse again, in order to range all the evidence together. He points out the likeness of thought between More's great speech to the rebels, and the speeches on similar topics in *Coriolanus* and *Troilus*, and in doing so he gives examples of the very remarkable likeness also to Shakespeare's work in four of the images contained therein.

But he is thinking of, and working out primarily, likeness between Shakespeare and the author of the *More* fragment, in general point of view, in the belief in 'degree' and order, the results of disregarding it, in the divine right of kings, in attitude to the common people, in tolerance, in humour, in breadth and far-sighted vision.

And this he does, so it seems to me, in the most able and entirely convincing way.

I propose, however, to examine the images only in this fragment. I have been working for some years past on Shakespeare's images,

and in the course of my study I have listed, classified and card-indexed every image in each play thrice over. This has given me great familiarity with the types of images Shakespeare uses, and the headings they naturally fall under; a familiarity which almost now approaches a sixth sense, and which of course I am unable to pass on to my readers by any bare statistical facts.

I deliberately waited for two years, until I had completed this investigation and record before applying any test of images to these three pages, and I confess the result has astonished me.

I believe that the imagery used by a dramatist, and often that used by a prose writer, is extraordinarily and unconsciously self-revealing. It reveals very clearly his tastes and temperament, the kind of way his mind works, the things which interest him and which he has observed and felt acutely, and—even more significant—those which do not interest him and which he has not observed and felt. This works out more reliably in drama than in poetry, because in a poem the writer is more definitely and consciously seeking images, whereas in the drama, and especially drama written red hot as was the Elizabethan, images tumble out of the mouths of the characters in the heat of the writer's feeling or passion, as they naturally surge up into his mind.

My examination of dramatists contemporary with Shakespeare which I have made for purposes of comparison, shows me that, quite apart from style and method of forming them, each writer has a certain range of images which are characteristic of him, and that he has a marked and constant tendency to use a larger number of one or two kinds.

Thus, with Shakespeare, Nature, animals and what we may call everyday and domestic images easily come first, whereas with Marlowe images drawn from books and especially from the classics, and from the sun, moon, planets and heavens far outnumber all others.

In the short *More* fragment of 147 lines, more than half of which is taken up with prose dialogue, shouting and repartee of the mob, there are twelve images. These, when classified, under headings such as animals, nature, sickness, clothes, sport, etc., fall into exactly the same familiar categories that the Shakespearean images do.

We cannot, of course, judge of proportion in so small an extract, although it is worth noting that of the twelve, three are images of animals, one of nature, while five come under what I am accustomed

to classify as 'everyday and domestic,' that is in this case, human relations, sickness, clothes, washing and the body.

Of these twelve images, we find that seven express an idea or image, and a particular application of that image which recurs many times in Shakespeare, and of all the other five, three of which have certain peculiarities, parallels in Shakespeare are to be found. I will here cite the images in order as they occur, and remark on the most significant points in them.

(1) l. 15, *Williamson* (speaking of parsnips, which have been introduced into the country by the strangers). *Trash, trash ; they breed sore eyes and 'tis enough to infect the Cytty with the palsey.*

Lin. Nay yt has infected yt with the palsey, . . . and yt is our infection will make the Cytty shake which partly coms through the eating of parsnyps.

This may, I think, rank as an image, through the idea of palsy and shaking being applied to the mental and moral condition of London.

That particular application of palsy is to be found in the Cade scenes in 2 *Hen. VI* (iv, vii, 94), when Lord Say answers Dick the butcher's query, 'Why dost thou quiver man?' with 'The palsy, and not fear, provokes me!' ¹

It is noticeable in the More passage, that *sore eyes* give the palsy and are a *channel of infection*.

The likenesses in Shakespeare are slight, but significant. In Thersites' repulsive list of diseases (*T. and C.* v, i, 23) '*cold palsies, raw eyes*' go together; Biron tells Rosaline that the King and the two other lords are *infected*, '*they have the plague, and caught it of your eyes*'; and Anne cries to Gloucester (*R. III.* i, ii, 149),

Out of my sight ! thou dost infect my eyes.

(2) l. 18, *Lin. these basterds of dung* as you knowe they growe in dung have infected us,

Here the term 'bastard' is applied to a vegetable; the parsnip,

¹ This passage is in the *Contention* (Q^o 1), and therefore may possibly be Greene's work, not Shakespeare's, though personally I am inclined to be convinced by Mr. Alexander's arguments that the *Contention* is a garbled version of Shakespeare's work, and not an earlier version of two plays largely by other authors.

a strange root. Shakespeare applies 'bastard' to flowers, strange varieties ;

Carnations and streak'd gillyvors
Which some call nature's bastards.

(*W.T.* IV, iv, 82)

- (3) 1. 50, *Moor*. *Whiles they ar ore the banck of their obedyenc
thus will they bere downe all things.*

A close study of Shakespeare's imagery reveals at once that though there is scarcely any repetition, there are certain ideas or pictures to be found again and again in varied form and with different applications. They are, one cannot help thinking, for the most part, sights and experiences which, probably in boyhood, made a profound and lasting impression upon him. Such are a bird caught in a net, a trapped animal, ripe fruit shaken or dropping from a tree, and many other simple and common country events.

One of these recurrent pictures is the irresistible force of a river in flood, and how this force is increased by any stoppage or interference. He has a notable number of river images, and among these are no less than nineteen of a river in flood, of which ten include the overflowing of its banks.

The same kind of picture of a rush of waters breaking their bounds and bearing all before them attracts him with regard to the sea ; a tide rushing in (*R. II.* II, ii, 98 ; *T. and C.* III, iii, 157 ; *Per.* V, i, 193) pouring into a breach (*H. V.* I, ii, 146) uncontrolled and swelling (*Luc.* xciii, 645), and especially the idea of the ocean overbearing its bounds as applied to lack of discipline among men, disorder or riot. Ulysses compares the result of anarchy to 'bounded waters' lifting 'their bosoms higher than the shores ;' and Claudius is told that

The ocean over peering of his list,
Eats not the flats with more impetuous haste
Than young Laertes, in a riotous head,
O'erbears your officers.

Professor Chambers points out that in *Coriolanus* we find this comparison used to illustrate exactly similar circumstances as in

More, the mob which has got out of hand and insubordinate. Cominius hurries Coriolanus away with the words :

Will you hence
Before the tag return ? Whose rage doth rend
Like interrupted waters, and o'erbear
What they are used to bear.

But Mr. Chambers does not add, as he might, that this image of a river overbearing its boundaries as applied to the result of stress of emotion in men is used by Shakespeare no less than eight times, and on four of these (including the one just quoted) it is definitely likened to rebellion or insubordination.

Scroop, preparing Richard for the bad news of the progress of the rebellion of Bolingbroke, compares the state of things to

an unseasonable stormy day,
Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,
As if the world were all dissolved to tears,
So high above his limits swells the rage
Of Bolingbroke : (Rich. II, III, ii, 106)

and when the dying Melun discloses the treachery which awaits the rebel lords and urges reconciliation with the king, Salisbury compares the position to 'a bated or retired flood' and promises that they will leave their 'irregular course.'

Stoop low within those bounds we have o'erlooked,
And calmly run on in obedience
Even to our ocean, to our great King John.

(K. J. v, iv, 52)

Exactly the same idea lies behind the French Lord's use of the image when describing Bertram's misdoings in terms of being a rebel and traitor to his own better self, 'so,' he says, 'he that in this action continues against his own nobility, *in his proper stream o'erflows himself.*'

So that we may at least say that this idea in the image in *Sir Thomas More* of a rush of waters carrying all before it, and especially of a river overflowing its banks, as applied to a rush of emotion in men, more particularly as the outcome of lack of discipline and insubordination, is a constant one with Shakespeare, and is to be found repeatedly in his work.

- (4) l. 87, *Moor*. Graunt them remoued and graunt that this
your noyce
hath chidd downe all the maiestie of Ingland.

This also may be reckoned an image, a kind of personification of the might, the law and dignity of the country in the person of the king. It is a phrase which has a peculiarly Shakespearean ring, reminding us of Horatio's exhortation to 'the majesty of buried Denmark,' or of Ophelia's query, 'Where is the beauteous majesty of Denmark?'

- (5) l. 92. *and that you sytt as kings in your desyres*

This is, at first sight, a perfectly simple and obvious simile, which many of Shakespeare's contemporaries may have used. One can only note that Shakespeare used it too, as Richard Simpson pointed out nearly sixty years ago (1871). In Sonnet 37 he used it with a slightly different turn and an entirely different application when he writes :

For whether beauty, birth, or wealth or wit
Or any of these all, or all, or more,
Entitled in thy parts *do crowned sit*.

But the really interesting and significant part of these analogies is likeness in the *idea* or picture in the writers' mind, and in its application. The picture here is of some one proud and confident as a king, clothed in his robes of state (the idea of being clothed or dressed in desires and opinions is expressed in the image immediately following, 'and you in ruff of your opinions clothd'), and this picture is applied to the common people, who have agitated for something, and having got their own way, are now, as it were, sitting back, pleased and smiling at having attained their ends. Now, a precisely similar picture, similarly applied, is in the mind of the Archbishop of York in 2 *Hen. IV* (1, iii, 94), when he describes the fickle and changeable populace, surfeited with their greed, pleased and satisfied in having attained their own choice of a king; 'O thou fond many,' so he apostrophises them,

Didst thou beat heaven with blessing Bolingbroke,
Before he was what thou would'st have him be !
And being now trimm'd in thine own desires
Thou, beastly feeder, art so full of him,
That thou provokest thyself to cast him up.

The idea, as regards 'desires,' is similar in both passages, the people, having got their way, are enriched or adorned by the attainment of their wishes.

(6) l. 94, *and you in ruff of your opynions clothd*

The idea of being clothed or dressed in a mental or emotional quality is peculiarly common with Shakespeare, 'so shall I clothe me in a forced content,' says Cassio (*Oth.* III, iv, 120), and this particular use of a verb of physical action or appearance as applied to emotions or qualities which are abstractions, is one of the constant and characteristic ways in which he endows his style with life and vividness.

I *stole* all courtesy from heaven,
And *dress'd* myself in such humility
That I did *pluck* allegiance from men's hearts,
(1 *H. IV*, III, ii, 50)

says Henry IV to Prince Hal; and Gratiano speaks of being

dress'd in an opinion
Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit.
(*M. of V.* I, i, 91)

Further, 'Ruff,' in Elizabethan English, meant 'pride' or 'excitement,' and Shakespeare uses it here in this sense. But, to an Elizabethan, the word naturally suggested its other meaning of an article of clothing, and so the verb clinches it into a metaphor, giving a double meaning to the noun. This seems a slight point, but it happens that this method of swift evolution by way of association and suggestion is a marked feature of Shakespeare's style in metaphor, and especially of his middle and later style, from about 1594 onwards, and it is one in which he differs from most, if not all of his contemporaries. Mr. Kellett has written a charming essay on it (in *Suggestions*, 1923), where he points out that owing to this characteristic, which was remarked by Coleridge, Shakespeare was almost totally unable to *correct* either his own writing or that of any one else. If he tried to do so, he at once re-wrote it all. Word begets word with him, and sentence sentence, so that he is more like an orator gathering momentum from his feeling and from his audience than a writer composing thoughtfully and deliberately in solitude.

We can watch his mind being swayed by this rapid association of words, allowing one to suggest another and yet another to him as he swiftly writes without blotting a line. Like all Elizabethans, he particularly delights in the fact, which was to them of the nature of a discovery, that many words have a double meaning; and a large number of his metaphors have come about, as here, through his having first written a word in one sense, instantly perceiving a second meaning, and clinching the phrase with another word thus suggested, which forms an image. Simple examples of this habit of mind and trick of style on the lines of the More image, examples which could be multiplied indefinitely, are:

O let us have him, for his *silver* hairs
Will *purchase* us a good opinion. (J. C., II, i, 143)

For all the *soil* of the achievement goes
With me into the *earth*. (2 H. IV, IV, 5, 190)

Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's *act*,
Threaten his bloody *stage*. (Mac. II, iv, 5)

(7) l. 99. *for other ruffians as their fancies wrought
with sealf same hand sealf reasons and sealf right
woold shark on you and men lyke revenous fishes
woold feed on on another.*

Mr. Chambers has already pointed out that this thought, revealing his unflinching vision and foresight, is a characteristic one of Shakespeare's; namely, that if order and authority be once broken, it will inevitably lead to anarchy, to men devouring one another like fishes or beasts of prey. Coriolanus, addressing the mob in very similar circumstances, in a condensed figure actually makes use of the same last half-line,

You cry against the noble senate, who
Under the gods, keep you in awe, which else
Would feed on one another, (Cor. I, i, 174)

and Ulysses, speaking more at length on the same subject, concludes with the image of

appetite, an universal wolf,
. . . Must make perforce an universal prey
And last eat up himself. (T. and C. I, iii, 121)

To these two remarkable parallels may be added the one in *King Lear*, when Albany, horrified at the unnatural cruelty he is witnessing, cries out that if the heavens do not quickly 'tame these vile offences' the same end will ensue, and

Humanity must perforce prey on itself,
Like monsters of the deep. (K. L. iv, ii, 49)

In addition, we may note various verbal resemblances in these lines to known words and phrases of Shakespeare's, which may, of course, all be accidental resemblances, but it is the accumulation of accident which is remarkable in these many likenesses to be found within the space of 150 lines.

The rather peculiar use of 'self' is Shakespearian,

I shot his fellow of the self same flight
 The self same way (M. of V. i, i, 142)

Stabbed by the self same hand. (R. III. i, ii, 11)

That metal, that self mould that fashioned thee.
 (R. II, i, 2, 23)

The two earliest known examples of the little-used verb 'to shark,' the one 'shark on,' that is 'prey on,' the other 'shark up,' meaning sweep up greedily, which are quoted in the *N.E.D.* are the one here and the one in *Hamlet*; and in a scene in *Henry VIII*, generally agreed to be Shakespeare's, the image of 'ravenous fishes' following a new-trimmed vessel is used.

(8) l. 116. *to the king god hath his offyc lent*

l. 119. *and to add ampler maiestie to this
 he hath not only lent the king his figure
 his throne and sword, but gyven him his owne name
 calls him a god on earth,*

Here again, as has been pointed out, similar language is used by the Bishop of Carlisle when he describes Richard as

the figure of God's majesty,
 His Captain, Steward, Deputy elect.
 (R. II, iv, i, 125)

'Figure' and 'king' run together in Shakespeare's mind, as in *Hamlet* twice.

In the same figure, like the king that's dead. (I, i, 41)

this portentous figure . . . so like the king
That was and is the question of these wars ; (I, i, 110)

and in the Lady Anne's description of the dead Henry VI,

Poor key-cold figure of a holy king ! (R. II, I, ii, 5)

(9) l. 126 *wash your foule mynds with teares*

The idea of washing with tears is repeatedly found in Shakespeare, eight times to be exact, and in five of these passages the conception is of thus washing a stain, a wound or other foulness, while on one occasion Leonato, speaking of Hero, uses precisely the language of Sir Thomas More, when he asks :

Would the two princes lie, and Claudio lie
Who loved her so, that speaking of *her foulness*,
Wash'd it with tears ? (M. Ado, IV, i, 153)

(10) l. 126. . . . *and those same hands*
that you lyke rebells lyft against the peace
lift up for peace, and your unrequerent knees
make them your feet to kneele to be forgyven ;

Mr. Chambers has pointed out the general likeness here in idea to the passage in *Coriolanus* (I, i, 69, etc.). The image of hands being lifted for, not against, peace, is closely akin to Shakespeare's method, as is also that of knees turned into feet, conveying in a vivid picture the humility expressed in the position of not only kneeling but moving along on your knees to proffer your petition. He constantly makes vivid use of parts of the body to express the emotion or the quality with which those parts are connected—Achilles is 'the sinew and the forehead of our host,' Agamemnon is the 'nerve and bone of Greece'—and the lines in *Coriolanus*, though the object of the prayer is a different one (in *More*, forgiveness, in *Coriolanus*, against dearth), the image of parts of the body to express the mental attitude required, is on exactly similar lines :

For the dearth,
The gods, not the patricians, make it, and
Your *knees* to them, not *arms*, must help.

This idea is worked out in detail by Menenius early in the play (i, i, 99-161), and he ends his list of the members of the body by tauntingly explaining to one of the citizens why he is the 'great toe of the rebellion' (i, i, 158).

Examples of this habit are numerous; Cade declares 'his mouth shall be the parliament of England'; Brutus urges Sicinius,

Let's to the Capitol
And carry with us ears and eyes for the time,
But hearts for the event. (ii, i, 277)

Coriolanus, when warned that the people are in dangerous mood, turns on the tribunes and asks

What are your offices?
You being their mouths, why rule you not their teeth?

Menenius later thus tersely describes Coriolanus,

His heart's his mouth;
What his breast forges, that his tongue must vent,

and a citizen says,

The noble tribunes are the people's mouths
And we their hands.

We may note, too, in Volumnia's long and passionate supplication to her son, how constantly she indicates the strength of the emotion, the mental attitude, by the visual picture evoked by the mere mention of the relevant limbs of the body:

He turns away:
Down, ladies; let us shame him with our knees.
..... Nay, behold's:
This boy, that cannot tell what he would have,
But kneels and holds up hands for fellowship,
Does reason our petition with more strength
Than thou hast to deny't. (v, iii, 168)

This rather peculiar use of parts of the body to signify their recognised functions or emotions is to be seen in euphuistic and affected form

in Boyet's description to the Princess of his reasons for stating that he is sure from observation that the king is in love with her (*L. L. L.* II, i, 234-247), and when he has achieved his end, he sums it up in the same vein, indicating, as in the More passage, *a change of action by substituting one member of the body for another*,

But to speak that in words which his eye hath disclosed
I have only made a mouth of his eye,
By adding a tongue which I know will not lie.

(*L. L. L.* II, i, 251)

(11) l. 137. *and leade the maiestie of law in liom
to slipp him lyke a hound ;*

Here we have an image from coursing, which Shakespeare is fond of using,

like greyhounds in the slips
Straining upon the start. (*H. V.* III, i, 31)

Cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war.
(*J. C.* III, i, 273)

In these two passages the image gives simply a picture of the eagerness of soldiers held up and straining for battle; but, as Mr. Chambers has pointed out, it is used in More's speech with a very particular and exact meaning, that of a hound being slipped from the leash, to follow whatever prey his master chooses, and that only. In the *Taming of the Shrew*, Shakespeare uses the simile in this sense while explaining precisely his meaning. Tranio, having thought he was a free agent, who could woo Bianca for himself, when he discovers that, on the contrary, his master Lucentio has merely used him all along for his own purposes, exclaims to Petruchio,

O sir, Lucentio slipp'd me like his greyhound,
Which runs himself, and catches for his master.
(*T. of Sh.* v, ii, 52)

More, in this eleventh simile, is showing the people that their demand to have the foreigners banished enforced by violence is of the nature of dictation to the government to do what the mob chooses, and thus cannot be tolerated. The image is used in an

exactly similar position in *Coriolanus*. Titus Lartius has occupied Corioli with his troops, and is bullying and terrorising the people and the government, dictating to them,

Condemning some to death and some to exile ;
Ransoming him or pitying, threatening the other,

in short, says Marcius,

Holding Corioli in the name of Rome,
Even like a fawning greyhound in the leash
To let him slip at will.

(1, vi, 37)

That is, he will release them only when they are sufficiently brow-beaten to do as he chooses, which reminds Shakespeare of the trained and disciplined greyhound, being slipped from the leash, to use his freedom and his energy only as his master wills.

(12) l. 151, *spurne you lyke doggs*,

This, of course,* is a very common simile, a conventional phrase which may well have been used by a score of Shakespeare's contemporaries. But it is at least noticeable that, like all the other images, it is peculiarly characteristic of Shakespeare.

His references to dogs, and images from them, which are numerous, imply dislike, and are almost always contemptuous; 'thievish,' 'coward,' 'venom-mouth'd' and 'fawning' are among the adjectives he applies to them; indeed, this attitude is so marked that I think we can say it is the only trait in him with which his fellow-countryman of to-day is out of sympathy.

Naturally he uses this particular expression repeatedly, 'Use me but as your spaniel,' cries Helena to Demetrius,

Spurn me, strike me, (M. N. D. II, i, 202)

You that did void your rheum upon my beard,
And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
Over your threshold, (M. of V. I, iii, 118)

Shylock reminds Antonio; and Caesar says to Metellus Cimber when he kneels before him, that his brother 'by decree is banished,' and

If thou dost bend and pray and fawn for him
I spurn thee like a cur out of my way. (J. C. III, i, 46)

These are the twelve images ; when we find that they fall under the usual headings in the usual proportions found in Shakespeare, that every one of them can be paralleled in Shakespeare's known plays, that the greater number of them express ideas and applications of those ideas peculiarly characteristic of Shakespeare and repeatedly found in his work, that they are moreover expressed in language in every case reminiscent of Shakespeare, is it too much to claim that the cumulative evidence they offer forms one more link in the gradually strengthening chain of proof which is leading some of us to believe that the fragment was written by Shakespeare ?

THE ÆADMUND-ÆLFRIC CHARTER, 944 A.D.

BY JULIA KEAYS-YOUNG

THE Old-English charter by which King Edmund I in 944 A.D. granted land near Daventry to Bishop Ælfric of Hereford is one of the most famous Anglo-Saxon Land Charters. A typical representative of such charters, it owes its celebrity to its inclusion in Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, where it has been studied by hundreds of scholars. Since it lacks literary merit, has no special historical value, and is written in the ordinary West-Saxon dialect of the period, most students have very naturally regarded it as a distinctly uninteresting specimen of Anglo-Saxon literature. To many of them, indeed, it has seemed little more than a mere list of words, and unfortunately the notes have done little to correct this impression. Nevertheless this Charter has a special interest of its own, which is not shared by the other texts in the *Reader*. Their interest is literary, historical, philological. The Æadmund Charter is unique in being an archaeological record capable of verification in the open fields at the present day. Out of eight place-names and seventy landmarks mentioned in the charter, seven place-names and fifty-three landmarks can be identified beyond a shadow of doubt, seven landmarks can be conjectured with a fair degree of certainty, and only one place-name and ten landmarks are utterly lost. Most of these are unimportant, and the 20-mile boundary circuit can be traced with certainty for sixteen miles. Three 1-mile gaps can be filled in roughly, and the boundary is only completely lost for less than a mile.

If the Æadmund-Ælfric charter were a unique specimen of an Anglo-Saxon land charter, the identification of its landmarks, although interesting enough in itself, would have no great historical significance. This, however, is far from being the case. The great charter collections of Kemble and Birch contain countless specimens dating from 605 A.D. onwards, describing land in Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Somersetshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, etc.

There are nearly sixty such charters belonging to King Æadmund's reign alone. All, no matter what their place or date, have the same form. They begin with a Latin statement of the conditions of a grant of land, and they end with a list of the landmarks of the boundary of the land bestowed. This list is nearly always in Old English, but early charters sometimes have the boundaries in Latin, and sometimes in a curious mixture of Latin and Old English. Now, granted that the land is situated in some similarly rural part of England, where the face of the countryside would have little cause to change, it seems reasonable to suppose that what is true of the Æadmund-Ælfric charter is equally true of the other, similar, Anglo-Saxon land charters. In other words, if its boundary can still be traced, it is highly probable that the boundaries of most of the other charters can be similarly reconstructed. This seems to me extraordinarily interesting and to open out a whole new field of research. Anglo-Saxon architecture was razed to make room for great Norman and Gothic buildings. Anglo-Saxon literature gave way to Latin Chronicle and French Romance and Song. But the landmarks of Anglo-Saxon England remained unchanged. Hedges, ditches, streams, mills, roads, lanes and bridges are in the same places as they were a thousand years ago. Even trees grow just where the same kind of tree grew in 944 A.D. Here, in the open fields, we find traces of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, still as clear as they were in King Æadmund's day and likely to endure even after all the Norman castles have crumbled into dust and Latin Chronicle and French Romance are alike buried in oblivion.

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Before proceeding to the Charter Text and Notes it seems advisable to give a brief account of the way in which the notes were made.

One Sunday in March 1928, four enthusiasts, armed with Sweet's *Reader* and a one-inch-scale Ordnance map, motored up from Oxford to Badby, in Northamptonshire. One was a philology tutor, one a Home Student Undergraduate, one an amateur dabbler in military historical research, and one, myself, the originator and general organiser of the expedition. Arrived at Badby, we abandoned the car and tried to find the "little cloven hill." We were completely baffled. We had no experience of hunting for landmarks; the first place-name mentioned in the charter had been wrongly identified by Sweet as a village lying about eight miles south-west of Badby,

and all the charter directions led us north or east ; and the second place-name, Weedon, was about half a page further on. There was no sign of either a little cloven hill or two little hills, and how could we hope to find a little ditch, or the small thorns, if we could not find the hills ? In despair we started to walk towards Weedon, but fortunately decided to leave the road fairly soon and go up a field to the top of the low ridge running east and west, north of Badby. Imagine our delight when we found two little hills due north of us. We hurried down the slope and soon came to a ditch running due north. We followed it and came to a farmhouse, where we asked about local names. We then heard, to our joyous satisfaction, that the western little hill was still called Fox Hill, so we knew we were on the correct trail. From this point it was fairly easy work to trace the boundary as far as the Willow Well. Here we were hunting for the " mæropytt " when we found a ewe and her lamb drowning in a pond of liquid clay. Our efforts to save their lives were successful, but quite exhausting—the weight of a bogged ewe is unbelievable—and as it was growing dusk and most of us had waded more or less deeply into the pond, we were obliged to abandon our research for the day.

For a whole year we did no more charter-hunting, but early in May 1929 the historical amateur and I collected two recruits and again motored up to Northamptonshire. This time we had the advantage of experience. Before we started we studied very carefully the six-inch Ordnance maps of the district, and these helped us to pick up the boundary north of Mazedale Spinney. We realised the folly of leaving the car behind, and henceforward we worked as a team. Unless the Charter directions were unmistakably clear we used to spread out fanwise over a field, hunting for landmarks in all directions. Having picked up the trail (which might be a boundary ditch, a hedge or an almost invisible field track), two of us followed it, while the other two returned to the car and drove it to the nearest point where the boundary seemed likely to strike a road or negotiable lane. When, by hallooing, we regained touch with each other, we compared notes. If necessary, we repeated the process, but if, as often happened, the boundary followed a road, we all drove on in the car. In this way much time and unnecessary walking were saved, but even so we had to abandon the hunt just below Dodford Mill, as we had to get back to Oxford that night.

Obviously it was absurd to spend so much time motoring to and

fro, so for our third expedition we made our headquarters at the Peacock, Daventry. It took four more days' hard work to complete the boundary. At Upper Weedon we were almost defeated, but the whole village combined to help us, and the kindness and intelligence of Mr. Henry Cox saved us and put us back on the trail. Fawsley, too, was rather difficult, as we did not like to invade the actual garden, but fortunately the boundary only went through the park. At Arbury Hill we went completely wrong twice. The first time we ran the car into a cul-de-sac, and it reflects the greatest credit on Sir Herbert Austin that the car stood the strain. The second time we climbed the wrong hill by mistake. However, we reached Arbury Camp all right in the end, though the "little cloven hill" baffled us again and necessitated a fourth special expedition in February 1930.

Having completed the circuit, I checked, with the 6-inch scale map, the first day's results obtained with the 1-inch scale map. Also I walked over practically the whole of that part of the boundary a second time. I can therefore claim to have investigated the Charter boundary pretty thoroughly, and my thanks are due to all my helpers. Mrs. Keays-Young took part in three expeditions, Miss Eastwick in two, Mrs. West and the Misses Bixby, Buckhurst, Gendall and Knox each in one. Any credit for the discoveries we made must be shared by us all.

The accompanying map is based on the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. The numbers refer to the sections of the Text and Notes.

THE CHARTER BOUNDARY: TEXT AND NOTES

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Ðis sint þā landgemæra and se embegang þāra landa tō Baddan-byrig and tō Doddanforda and tō Eferdūne.</p> | <p>These are the boundaries and the circuit of the lands of Badby, Dodford and Everdon.</p> |
|---|---|

A glance at the map shows that the land granted by this charter included the whole of the three parishes of Badby, Dodford, and Everdon.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>2. Ðæt is þonne ærest æt Baddanbyrg westweardre and norðe-weardre æt þām lytlan tōclofenan beorge.</p> | <p>It begins to north-west of Badby at the little cloven hill.</p> |
|---|--|



A low ridge runs east and west between Badby and Fox Hill.

At Badby Fields Farm, a mile north-west of Badby, a spring gushes from the perpendicular side of this ridge into a small natural basin, and then flows south through a deep cleft.

3. Þonne on gerihte of ðām Then straight on from the hill
 beorge norð tō Weargedūne north to "Weargedūn."
 betweox þā lytlan twegen
 beorgas.

"Weargedūn" cannot be identified. No name in the least like it is known to the local inhabitants, nor does it occur on the Ordnance map. Manifestly it cannot mean Chipping Warden as suggested by Mr. Bumby in Sweet's *Reader*, as that village lies eight miles south-west of Badby and the charter directions all lead north from Badby. The Anglo-Saxons' system of compass directions is a little confusing. It must be realised that "on gerihte of ðām beorge norð" only means that the boundary goes in a straight line in any direction between north-west and north-east of the hill. When they mean due north or due south they put "Norðrihte" or "suðrihte." Cf. notes 19 and 25 and Ohthere's voyage, "þā fōr hē norþryhte be þæm lande." The boundary runs north here, then east.

4. Þāt þær norð andlang ðære Thence north along the little ditch
 lytlan dīc æt þæs grāfes ende at the grove's end as far as the small
 oð þā smalan ðornas. thorns.

The ditch runs north from the Staverton-Newnham road to Newnham Hill Farm where there is a clump of immensely old thorn trees.

5. Þonne of ðām þornum up on Then from the thorns up on to the
 ðā lytlan dūne middewearde. little middle hill.

The boundary goes up to the high ground between Fox Hill and Newnham Hill.

6. Þonne of ðære dūne east on Then from the rise east on to the
 fox-hylle eastewearde. east of Fox Hill.

Actually the boundary runs almost due east here.

7. Þonne geūðe ic Ælfwine and Then I grant to Ælfwine and Beorhtulf
 Beorhtulfe þæs leās and þæs tulf the meadow and the home-
 hammes be norðan þære lytlan stead to north of the little ditch.
 dīc.

Apparently Ælfwine and Beorhtulf were to be joint holders of what is now Newnham Hill Farm.

8. Þonne lið ðæt gemære on Then the boundary runs straight
gerihte of fōxhyll norðe- from Fox Hill north on to the road
weardre on þone holan weg in the hollow at Hind's Leap.
æt hinde-hlȳpan.

Naturally the Hind's Leap can no longer be identified, but the field here shows traces of an old road running northward.

9. Þonne of hindehlȳpan on þone Then from the Hind's Leap to the
wylle æt þām lēa ufewardum. well in the upper part of the
meadow.

There is a spring about a third of a mile north-east of Fox Hill.

10. Of þām wylle on þæt heorot- From the well to the hart's wallow.
sol.

The land here slopes down to northward and the bottom of the large meadow is very boggy.

11. Of þām heorotsole norð on From the hart's wallow due north
gerihte on ðone beorg. to the hill.

A perfectly straight road runs from here north-east up to Borough Hill. This hill is the site of a Roman Camp, a Roman Villa, and a Tumulus. It is also the site of the Daventry Waterworks and of the famous Daventry Wireless Station. This juxtaposition of the old and the new civilisation is remarkable. The Charter boundary passes just south of the camp.

12. Þonne of ðām beorge on Then from the hill straight on to the
gerihte to þām lēa. meadow.

Here the boundary turns east and follows a low bank with trees.

13. Þæt forð be lēa on wiðig- Then forward along the meadow
wylles hēafud. to the Willow Well Head.

This is clearly the pond of the farm lying about half a mile due east of Daventry Waterworks. The willows, old and gnarled, droop over the pond, and there are no other willow trees to be seen for miles.

14. Of ðan wylle norð on gerihte From the well straight on north to
on ðā ðornehtan dūne tōemnes the thorny hill opposite the gate of
þām geate æt þære ealdan byrg. the old fortress.

The boundary runs N.N.W. to Borough Hill Plantation, which adjoins the east wall and gate of Borough Hill Camp.

15. Ðæt fram ðām geate on gerihte Then from the gate straight on
 east tō mærpytte. east to the clay pit.

The clay pit is in a small covert nearly a mile due west of Ivy House Farm. It is about 40 feet deep, 80 feet wide, and 300 feet long. It contains both blue and yellow clay, while the surrounding soil is partly gravel, partly a stiff loam.

16. Ðonne of ðām pytte on gerihte Then from the pit straight on to
 tō ðām stāne æt þām wylle wið the stone at the well to north of
 norðan mæres-dæl. Maze dale.

The boundary runs east here. The name "mæres-dæl" survives in Mazedale spinney, due north of which is Ivy House Farm. Here we found a small cattle pond which never runs dry, with a good many large stones lying about. One of the farm buildings is called "The Castle," and its east wall is clearly Anglo-Saxon. I presume this was a small fortress defending the north-east corner of Bishop Ælfric's land. The farm is 200 yards west of Watling Street.

17. Ðonne sūð on gerihte andlang Then straight on south along
 Wætlinga-stræt on þone weg Watling Street on to the road at
 tō Weoduninga gemære. the Weedon boundary.

Watling Street here runs S.S.E., and the charter boundary follows it to its junction with the Weedon-Daventry road on the Weedon parish boundary.

18. Ðonne west andlang weges on Then west along the way to the
 ðone lýtlan beorg, ðær se stoc little hill, where the tree stood.
 stōð.

The boundary follows the Weedon-Daventry road along the Weedon-Dodford parish boundary up the hill to the Queen's Head Inn. It passes within 200 yards of a Saxon mote, now known as Caesar's camp.

19. Ðæt þonan sūðrihte on ðone Thence due south on to the old
 caldan mylier þær þā welegas mill-stream, where the willows
 standað. stand.

The charter boundary coincides with the boundary of Weedon Beck parish for the next three stages. It turns due south down the

hill from the Queen's Head Inn and follows the Dodford-Everdon road for about half a mile to where the road crosses the Nene. The Nene here has a deeply sunken bed and willows hang over it. The much-discussed word "mylier" must mean a mill-stream, as the Nene has just passed Dodford Mill.

20. Ðæt west andlang burnan, oð Then west along the stream to
hit cymð þær Blīðe ūtsçytt. where the Blithe flows into it.

The stream is the Nene. The Blithe, known locally as Everdon Brook, flows into the Nene just above Dodford Mill. In the early eighteenth century Everdon Brook was said to have two heads, Seywell and Bryesland Spring.

21. Ðæt andlang Blīðan oð þā Then along the Blithe as far as the
stānbricge. stone bridge.

One-third of a mile south of the junction of the Nene and Everdon Brook, there is now a brick bridge, but many tooled stones, obviously the remains of an older bridge, lie in the water near it.

22. Ðæt ēast of ðære bricge and- Then east from the bridge along the
lang dīc, oð ðone hāþenan ditch as far as the heathen tomb.
byrgels.

The ditch runs east to the Dodford-Everdon road. After that it is difficult to trace, and we failed to identify the heathen tomb.

23. Of þam byrgelse forð norð be From the tomb along north beside
wyrtruman oð þæs heges ende the stumps to the end of the hedge
be Weoduninga gemære. at the Weedon boundary.

There is some waste land in Upper Weedon village which has a ditch running north through it for no apparent reason. This may be the old boundary ditch which ran alongside the stumps. "The end of the hedge by the Weedon boundary" cannot concern the modern parish boundary of Weedon Beck, as Upper Weedon, where we found our next landmark, is in the heart of the parish. Possibly it alludes to some boundary between Upper and Lower Weedon.

24. Ðæt þonan andlang gemæres Thence along the boundary straight
on gerihte tō ðām stocce on on to the tree in the east of the
ēastcwærdan þām lēa. meadow.

Upper Weedon has a little street called Oak Street, with Oak Tree Farm at one end of it.

25. Of ðām stocce sūðrihte on From the tree due south on to the
 þære stræt. road.

From the east end of Oak Street a lane runs due south for a quarter of a mile to a green lane, now less than a quarter of a mile long. Mr. Henry Cox of Upper Weedon told me that the green lane joined a long strip of common land, thirty feet wide, passing across his land. This strip is scarcely distinguishable from the field, but is obviously a continuation of the lane, proving that there was formerly a wide road here.

26. Andlang stræt tō þære fyrh þe Along the road to the furrow which
 scytt sūðrihte tō þære miclan runs due south to the great road at
 stræt æt þæs wylles hēafde æt the well-head at the Snorscomb
 Snōcescumbes gemære. boundary.

Neither the furrow nor the well can be identified. Three field boundaries run almost due south from the Green Lane to the Weedon-Farthingstone road. Also there are several springs on the other side of the road. The most likely well-head is the pump at Weedon Hill Cottage. Snorscomb (or Snocescombe) according to mediæval records was a manor attached to Fawsley.

27. Þæt west andlang stræt on Then west along the road to the
 ðone æsc. ash.

The Weedon-Farthingstone road here runs west. Where it bends south there is a group of ash trees.

28. Þæt fram æsce andlang stræt Then from the ash along the road
 betweox þā twegen lēas on þā between the two meadows on to the
 ealdan sealt-stræt oð ðone old salt road as far as the tail.
 steort.

The charter boundary follows the road south for about a mile. It then turns west along the Stowe and Preston Capes road, which becomes very narrow and rough. It passes over a ridge and down a steep hill. There is a grassy slope here which may be the tail. (Bosworth translates "steort" as promontory; Sweet translates it "Tongue of land.")

29. Fram þām steorte andlang From the tail along the dirty brook
 þæs fīlan brōces oð Blīðan. to the Blithe.

At the bottom of the grassy slope a very muddy little stream flows north into Everdon Brook, already identified as the Blithe (see note 20).

30. Þonne is þæt land æt Snōces-
cumbe healf þæs cinges healf
uncer Brentinges, būton mē
God geunne and mīn hlāford
þæt hē his mē geunnan wille.
- Then the land at Snorscomb be-
longs half to the king and half to me,
Brenting, unless God and my lord
grant that he should grant me his
share.

The boundary has now gone round three sides of the hamlet of Snorscomb.

31. Þonne gēþ sīo mearc forð
andlang Bliðan west, oð ðæt
sēo lacu ūt-scytt on Bliðan
wiðufan stānbridgge.
- Then the boundary goes west along
the Blithe to where the lake pours
itself into the Blithe above the stone
bridge.

The boundary follows Everdon Brook for nearly a mile to a weir at the outlet of Fawsley Lake. Some loose stones below the weir may be the remains of an Anglo-Saxon bridge.

32. Þæt norð andlang lace oð ðā
dīc.
- Then northwards along the lake as
far as the ditch.

This lake, called Big Waters, is in Fawsley Park. A broad, deep, dry ditch, nearly half a mile long, running east and west ends at the north tip of the lake.

33. Þonne andlang dīc oð ðone
weg þe scytt tō Fealuweslēa on
þām slade.
- Then along the ditch to the way
which leads to Fawsley in the valley.

About fifty yards from the north end of Big Waters, two carriage drives join and run south to Fawsley Church and House.

34. Þæt on Fealuweslēa, þær
Ælfric biscep rēdan hēt tō
þære ealdan dīc.
- Then in Fawsley, where Bishop
Ælfric commanded (rēdan?) to
(or at) the old ditch.

'Rēdan' occurs nowhere else in West Saxon. It seems just possible that it comes from rōdjan and means "to build a cross," although of course the usual phrase is "rōd ārēran."

35. Andlang dīc tō ðām wege þe
scytt up tō ðām hricgge.
- Along the ditch to the way which
leads up to the ridge.

North of Fawsley a high ridge runs east and west. The charter boundary follows the old Roman (?) ditch for a few yards before turning N.N.W. up the footpath to Badby Down.

36. Andlang hricgges tō þām wege
þe scytt fram Fealuweslēa tō
Baddan-bȳ āne lȳtle hwīle.
- Along the ridge to the way which
runs from Fawsley to Badby for
a little while.

The boundary here runs west along the edge of a wood, for nearly a quarter of a mile.

37. *Donne of ðære apuldre þe stent wið westan þām wege þurh þone læa tō þām miclan hæslwride.* Then, from the apple-tree, which stands to west of the way, through the meadow to the great hazel ride.

The apple-tree has left no trace. Presumably it stood where the modern footpath to Badby comes up out of the wood. The boundary then goes north-west across grass-land for another quarter of a mile, before entering the great hazel-ride, which is a track, half a mile long, running west through a belt of trees to Badby plantation. There are many hazel trees about here.

38. *Of ðām hæslwride ādūn on þā blacan rixa.* From the hazel ride down to the black rushes.

The hazel-ride goes along the top of the ridge, but we found no sign of the black rushes.

39. *Of ðām rixun on þā lýtlan hecggan æt þām wege þe scýtt fram Baddan-bý to Cearwyltūn.* From the rushes on to the little hedge at the way which runs from Badby to Charwelton.

The little hedge is also unidentifiable, but the way from Badby to Charwelton is now a main road.

40. *Andlang weges oð ðone brōc þe scýtt tō Fealuwes-læa tō þām forða.* Along the way as far as the ford over the brook, which flows to Fawsley.

A small stream crosses the Badby-Charwelton road about a third of a mile below Badby plantation.

41. *Þæt west æfre andlang brōces oð ðone weg þe scýtt tō Stæfertūne wið sūðan þā caldan burh æt Baddanbyrg.* Then ever west along the brook to the way which runs to Staverton to south of the old camp at Badby.

The charter boundary follows the brook westward until that comes to an end. It then follows a farm path which passes south of the prehistoric camp of Arbury Hill, on the way to Staverton.

42. *Þæt west andlang weges oð tōemnes þære micelan dīc oð westewearde þā burh.* Then west along the way opposite the great dyke until westward of the camp.

The massive southern earth wall of Arbury Camp is clearly visible from the farm track.

43. Andlang ðære dīc and be þære
byrg westweardre norð oð ðone
tōbrocenan beorg, ðe þær is
tōclofen on norðweardre and
on westweardre Baddan-byrg.
- Along the ditch and northwards,
on the west side of the camp, as
far as the broken hill, which is there
divided to north-west of Badby.

The boundary goes along the west and north walls of the camp, then east along field boundaries to the source of a stream. It follows this north-east until it joins the stream which has flowed south down the cleft of "the little cloven hill."

STEPHEN HAWES AND THE COURT OF SAPIENCE

BY WHITNEY WELLS

THE problem of the relation of the fifteenth-century *Court of Sapience* to Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* has been a puzzling one. Critics for the most part grumblingly agree that the creator of *Grand Amour* no doubt knew the earlier poem, but are extremely cautious in assigning the amount of indebtedness. The similarity in both poems of discussion of the seven liberal arts, to be sure, caused Burkart to declare that from the *Court* "Hawes seems to have conceived his whole plan for his poem"¹—a rashness rebuked by Natter, who upheld the influence of the *Margarita Philosophica* of Reisch and the French *Image du Monde*.² Burkart's emphasis on the parallels between the educational sections of the two poems was unfortunate. The provenience of the *Court of Sapience* there is easily disproved; with a resultant tendency to depreciate its use in any other portion.

Thus, Courthope found the motive for the Tower of Doctrine in Martianus Capella,³ an influence seconded by Murison.⁴ For Professor Potter, Caxton's version of the *Image du Monde* is the important source.⁵ Hawes' latest editor, Dr. W. E. Mead, fortunately lulls all these winds of doctrine by again stressing the significance of the *Margarita Philosophica*.⁶ His parallels from the Latin treatise and discussion of the woodcuts show Natter's surmise to have been correct. This portion of the *Pastime* is undoubtedly drawn from Reisch.

¹ Burkart, *Stephen Hawes' The Pastime of Pleasure* (Zurich, ? 1900), p. 51.

² Natter, *Untersuchung der Quellen von Hawes' allegorischem Gedicht "Pastime of Pleasure"* (Munich, 1911), pp. 7, 40.

³ Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, i, p. 382.

⁴ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, ii, p. 263.

⁵ As quoted by Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry* (New York, 1925), p. 82.

⁶ Mead, *Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure* (London, E.E.T.S., O.S., 173), pp. lxiv ff.

But what of the *Court of Sapience*? After Burkart's generalization, Murison more timidly suggested that the poet "evidently had *The Court of Sapience* also in his mind."¹ Rhodenizer, without reference to the *Court*, claims provenience for Deguillville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, which Hawes could have known in Lydgate's translation.² Professor Berdan maintains that Hawes utilised "in *The Pastime*, the scheme of the Court of Sapience of the second book."³ Miss Hammond, seeming to concur with Rhodenizer's view, states in regard to both the *Court of Sapience* and the *Margarita Philosophica*, "it is not clear to me that Hawes owed much to the plan of either work."⁴ In discussing the *Court* she writes, "Full discussion of Hawes' relation to this poem will doubtless come with an edition of either work as a whole,"⁵ a hope proved barren indeed. Dr. Mead's edition of the *Pastime* merely states that "Hawes credited Lydgate with the authorship of the *Courte of Sapyence*, and from it he appears to have derived hints for a portion of the plan of *The Pastime*";⁶ while Dr. Spindler, in his recent edition of the *Court*, notes only the similarity in vocabulary between the two poets⁷—a fact already pointed by Burkart. It is perhaps now time to estimate, as adequately as possible, the actual relationship.

I

That Hawes knew the *Court of Sapience*, which was published by Caxton in 1480, and attributed it to Lydgate seems a safe assumption. There appears little need for Miss Hammond's supercaution in suggesting the possible existence of another poem by that title as referred to by the poet in the *Pastime of Pleasure*⁸ (l. 1357). The long-recognised similarity in matter of vocabulary—which Miss Hammond herself admits—makes such discretion hardly necessary.

The grounding of both narratives in the conventional allegorical poems of the time is, undoubtedly, largely responsible for all such wariness of scholastic attitude. Yet there has been no hesitancy

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, ii, p. 263.

² Rhodenizer, *Studies in Stephen Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure*, Harvard diss., 1918. In Harvard University Library.

³ Berdan, p. 82.

⁴ Hammond, *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, 1927), p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 259.

⁶ Mead, p. xlv.

⁷ Spindler, *The Court of Sapience* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 120 ff.

⁸ Hammond, pp. 258, 259.

in admitting that Hawes cut the *Pastime* to the pattern of his earlier poem, *The Example of Virtue* (1503-4). Murison points out incidents they have in common; ¹ Berdan asserts that "the striking similarity between the two poems is at once apparent," and infers "that after (Hawes) had finished the first poem, he amused himself by constructing the second on much the same lines"; ² Miss Hammond makes the overstatement that "Hawes repeated in the *Pastime* every device, narrative or rhetorical, which he had used in the *Example*"; ³ and Dr. Mead writes, "His *Example of Virtue* is hardly more than a preliminary sketch in 2100 lines of *The Pastime of Pleasure*." ⁴ Accordingly, an investigation of the relation between the *Court of Sapience* and the *Example of Virtue* may help toward clearing the problem postulated above. ⁵

II

The *Court of Sapience* consists of a prologue and two books—the first book containing the regulation dream allegory and debate between the Four Daughters of God; the second, the journey to the court of Sapience and the hero's instruction in the seven liberal arts. Similarly, the *Example of Virtue* breaks into a dream allegory and debate between Nature, Fortune, Sapience, and Hardiness on the one hand, and the chivalric winning of Dame Cleanness on the other. It seems apparent, as Professor Berdan notes, that "in *The Example* he copied the scheme of the dream structure and debate of the first book" ⁶ of the *Court of Sapience*. But there are other parallels as obvious.

In both poems—written in the rhyme-royal stanza—the dreamer, identified with the author, is met in the conventional flowery mead by an allegorical personage—Dame Sapience in the *Court*, Dame Discretion in the *Example*. Both heroes are conducted over water and up paths gravelled with precious stones to their destinations, the castle of Sapience and the castle of Nature, Fortune, *Sapience*, and

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, ii, p. 259.

² Berdan, pp. 80 ff.

³ Hammond, p. 268.

⁴ Mead, p. lxxix.

⁵ References to the *Example of Virtue* (E.V.) it has seemed most convenient to give in Professor Arber's reprint where the stanzas are numbered: *Dunbar Anthology* (London, 1901, pp. 217 ff.). References to the *Court of Sapience* (C.S.) are to Dr. Spindler's text; to the *Pastime of Pleasure* (P.P.) to Dr. Mead's edition. All italics are mine.

⁶ Berdan, p. 82.

Hardiness, respectively. They are greeted similarly with promises of better sights to come (*C.S.* 136; *E.V.* 25, 27). The hall of Sapience in the *Court*

hangyd was wyth Aras-werke in golde,
Full of storyes of wysdom and of wyt (*C.S.* 249),

as is the hall of the castle in the *Example*, which

hanged was with Cloths of Arras,
Made of fine gold, with a noble Story (*E.V.* 29),

and the courts of the seven arts in the *Court* coincide with the various rooms of the four dames in the later poem.

While the exterior of this particular castle in Hawes more nearly affiliates itself in detail with that described in the *Assembly of Ladies*,¹ the Castle of Love, later in the *Example*, bears analogy to the *Court of Sapience*. In the latter poem, over the river "whose name ys Quyete" (*C.S.* 134), the way to the castle lies over a bridge inscribed—

Who dredeth God, com yn and ryght well come
For drede of God ys wey of all wysdome (*C.S.* 135),

and the gate of the Castle of Doctrine is inscribed with a stanza beginning—

Thys ys the wey to vertew and to grace,
To konnyng, knowlache, wyt, and all wysdom (*C.S.* 214).

Similarly, in the *Example*, beyond a river—it is not clear whether this is the one "named Ephesene" (*E.V.* 157)—the way to the Castle of Love lies over a bridge whereon is written—

No man this Bridge may over go
But he be pure without negligence,
And steadfast in God's belief also (*E.V.* 179),

and the precincts of the castle are inscribed—

This is the Kingdom of great Grace.
No man beyond this mark may trace,
But if he be brought in by Dame Wisdom;
If he so be, he is much welcome (*E.V.* 180).

Here, likeness extends from idea to phrasing, and the conductress, Sapience, is the same in both poems.

Another instance of similarity in plan and execution of the two

¹ The relation of this poem and others to the *Example of Virtue* is the subject of a forthcoming study by the writer.

poems occurs on the return of Hawes' hero to the Castle of Love. He is met by seven allegorical ladies—Dames *Perseverance*, *Faith*, *Charity*, *Prayer*, *Lowliness*, *Cleanness*, and *Grace* (*E.V.* 212–218), So, in the *Court*

Seuyn ladyes bryght downe fro the toures seuen
Came to the yate wyth massy ladyes moo (*C.S.* 215).

These are *Faith*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, *Temperance*, and *Righteousness*. Among the servants of *Faith* are enumerated Dames *Cleanness* and *Lowliness*; among those of *Chastity* is *Grace*; among those of *Fortitude*, *Perseuerance* (*C.S.* 215–219). And the riot of allegorical personages at the wedding of *Virtue* to *Cleanness* in the *Example* contains in its roster the names of the goodly company in the *Court*. The inclusion of

the hooly confessours, . . .
Doctours, martyrs, and glorious auctours (*C.S.* 324)

in the court of *Faith* in the earlier poem, no doubt accounts for their more specific inclusion in the *Example's* festivities (*E.V.* 239 ff.).

Chastity, also of Dame *Faith's* train in the *Court*, is remarked upon as being one

In whose heede was III garlandis of renoun :
Oon for virgyns and their relygioun,
Oon for spowsyd peple that Iyuyne clene,
The thryd for wydows, yef they pure contene (*C.S.* 216),

which may be compared to Hawes' description of Dame *Cleanness*, who likewise

weareth three crowns for her virginity :
One is for people of perfect religion ;
Another, for Maidens keeping chastity ;
The third, for true Widows, as thou mayst see (*E.V.* 190).

Another attendant in the *Court of Sapience* is *Minerva*, who supports *Sapience* (*C.S.* 250 ff.). Although Hawes' *Minerva*, who serves Dame *Hardiness* (*E.V.* 37), is more likely the figure from *Caxton's Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, it is worthy of note that her dress and armour are allegorised in much the same way that the *Example* poet uses for the dress of the God of Love (*E.V.* 185 ff.) and his hero's own armour (*E.V.* 196). In both the latter instances, although the actual descriptions come from elsewhere, is contained a device used by the author of the *Court*.

The dreamers in both poems wander about in a wilderness.
In the *Court*

. . . I was me thought in place desert,
In wilderness . . .
In moche derknesse . . .
Wyth wylde bestes in deuouryng expert (*C.S.* 19).

The wylde wolves after me sewen fast . . .
But forthe I throng wyth thornes all to-rent (*C.S.* 20).

In the *Example*

We came unto a right great Wilderness . . .
Wherefore we walked in great darkness,
Among thorns sharp, and beastes wild (*E.V.* 158);

There were the lion, the wolf, and the bear (*E.V.* 159).

Both heroes are finally lightened into a pleasant place where each meets a lady. In the *Court*, Sapience advises the dreamer that

Thys desert place of feere, thurgh whyche thow come,
Ys dredefull worldly occupacioun (*C.S.* 24),

while in the *Example* it is likened

. . . by moral sense,
Unto worldly trouble (*E.V.* 166).¹

Similarly, the device of anaphora used by Hawes in both the *Example of Virtue* (*E.V.* 63-66) and the *Pastime of Pleasure* (*P.P.* chaps. 21, 31, 44) has been laid to Chaucer's door.² The twenty-eight lines beginning, "Woe worth" in the *Example*, as well as the twenty-seven of the *Pastime* (*P.P.* ll. 4050 ff.), are much nearer a passage in the *Court of Sapience* than to those examples of this colour of rhetoric from the *Troilus*. In the farewell of Peace in the *Court*, each verse of an entire stanza begins with the identical "Woe worth"; and one line, at least,

And wo worth ryght, that may no fauour haue ! (*C.S.* 67)

is similar to the *Example of Virtue*,

Wo worth right that may not be heard (*E.V.* 64).

¹ Rhodenizer (pp. 43 ff.) considers Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* chief source for the *Example*—a provenience I am not inclined to grant save in the most general sense and as certainly subsidiary to the *Court of Sapience*—and states as an important element of his proof: "The wilderness of the world in the *Example of Virtue* corresponds to the sea of the world in the Pilgrimage." But, as shown above, there is no necessity for such inversion since Hawes' wilderness was found to hand in the *Court*.

² Hammond, p. 269.

Chaucer's usage, more discreet and poetic than that of either of the later poets, may be the ultimate source ; but Hawes' verses more nearly approximate those of the *Court of Sapience*.

Other instances of verbal similarity are contained in the apologetic prologues to the two poems. Both poets profess a modesty conventional to the time, of course ; but the words of Hawes are remarkably like those of the earlier, who invokes Clio to

*Myn ignoraunce, whome clouded hath eclippes,
With thy pure bemes illumyne al aboute !
Thy blessyd breth lete reflexyr in my lypes,
And with the dewe of heuen thou them degoute,
So that my mouthe maye blowe and encense oute
The redolent dulcour aromatyke
Of thy depured lusty Rethoryk ! (C.S. 4).*

*I knowe my self most naked in al artes . . .
My muse amende, dresse, forge, mynesse and eche ! (C.S. 5) ;*

*For to al makers here I me excuse
. . . which haue delyte
In termes gay, and been most eloquent (C.S. 6).*

To Gower and Chaucer in particular

*I symple shal extolle theyre soueraynte,
And my rudeness shall shewe theyr subtyl(y)te (C.S. 7)*

Fragraunt in speche, experte in poetrye (C.S. 8).

Hawes writes

*I now somple and most rude,
And naked in depured eloquence,
For dullness Rhetoric doth exclude
Wherefore, in making I lack intelligence (E.V. Pro. 2).*

*As very blind in the Poet's art,
For I therof can nothing skill (E.V. Pro. 3).*

To Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate

Unto you all, I do me excuse (E.V. Pro. 4).

At the end of the *Example* the similarity is again pointed :

*O, Gower ! fountain most aromatic !
I thee now lack, for to depure
My rudeness with thy lusty rhetoric / (E.V. 298).*

and Chaucer :

*. . . for he was expert
In eloquent terms subtle and covert (E.V. 298) ;*

and Lydgate :

*That should my mind forge, to indite
After the terms of famous eloquence (E.V. 299) ;*

At the end, he prays to God

For to distil the dew of influence
Upon my brain, so dull and rude;
And to enlumine me with his sapience
That I my rudeness may exclude (*E.V.* 300).

The Hawes passages are obviously modelled on those of the *Court of Sapience*—idea, phrasing, vocabulary are all similar.¹

Further evidence may be adduced by the great part Dame Sapience plays in the *Example of Virtue*. Dame Discretion, at first mention of her name, immediately elevates her to a position of importance as "my sister" (*E.V.* 22).² When they come to her dwelling-place, the poet spends twenty-six stanzas on its description and her conversation, as opposed to the mere seven of his next favourite, Hardiness. The same partiality is shown in the debate; Sapience' plea is nearly as long as all the others together. In the second half of the poem, it is her power that is necessary to the successful suit of the heroine (*E.V.* 152 ff.) and she reappears later in the poem as the hero's guide and continual prompter (*E.V.* 170 ff.). She also sits beside him at the wedding feast (*E.V.* 257). The lady's importance would seem to have been impressed upon Hawes by the *Court of Sapience*.

Furthermore, in the *Example*, there appear references to the Four Daughters of God debate which is found in the first book of the *Court of Sapience*. The main one occurs in the debate between the four ladies "in virtue excellent." After a denial of Dame Hardiness' power, Sapience maintains—

I, Sapience, am endued with grace,
And the load-star of heavenly doctrine . . .
Who that list, to me for to incline,
He shall know things that be divine (*E.V.* 107),

which is comparable to her speech in the *Court*:

I am the trew propyr knowlege certayn
Of erthely thyng, and eke of thyng diuyn (*C.S.* 23).

Following, in the *Example*, Sapience refers to the strife between God and man, the Immaculate Conception, and the Crucifixion (*E.V.* 108, 109)—all themes of the Four Daughters of God debate.

Whereas this dispute was extremely well known and Hawes

¹ Cf. also *C.S.* 170 and *E.V.* 140, where both poets refer in similar terms to Bartholomæus Anglicus, and the reference to the Creed at the close of each poem.

² In the *Court*, Discretion is one of the servants of Dame Prudence (*C.S.* 218), a name Hawes uses occasionally instead of Sapience (*E.V.* 47, 49).

mentions Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (P.P. ll. 1342 ff.), where he might also have found the story, nevertheless there is special reason to believe that it is the debate in the *Court of Sapience* to which the poet refers. A group of the Four Daughters of God debates found common source in the *Pèlerinage de Jesucrist* of Deguileville—the two French mystères of Mercadé and Greban and a single English representative, the *Court of Sapience*.¹ These have the peculiarity of introducing, as another daughter, the allegorical character of Sapience. In the *Court of Sapience*, there being no evidence of Hawes' knowledge of the French pieces, Christ seeks advice from this fifth sister; and it is Sapience who solves the tangle into which man's first disobedience had plunged the kingdom of heaven, by defining the necessity for the incarnation of Christ and the redemption of mankind by His death. The references to these in the stanzas under discussion point to Hawes' remembrance; and it is hardly strange that Dame Sapience, in this new debate, should refer, however cloudily, to her part in the older controversy.² Hawes' personal interpolation, at this point, of three stanzas on the quality of mercy (E.V. 110–112) would appear to have been similarly drawn from the speeches of Christ and Mary to Mercy in the *Court* (C.S. 117–126).

III

From the above, the great part that the *Court of Sapience* played in the composition of the *Example of Virtue* is obvious, and makes it now possible to account for its suspected but never confirmed rôle in the *Pastime of Pleasure*. In Hawes, to use the phrase of Professor Lowes, instead of a miracle we get marquetry; and in the later, more mature, poem the joining of bits from admired authors is more deft. Not only this, but in the case of the *Court of Sapience*, the neatness of the craft that obscures its influence in the *Pastime* is partly due to its screening through the earlier *Example of Virtue*, a poem of coarser workmanship. Pattern cut from pattern confuses the original outline.

And yet many episodes can be traced through the three poems. Of those discussed above there are the identification of the hero with the author, the conduct over water (although by ship in the

¹ Traver, *The Four Daughters of God* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 74 ff., 158.

² The same is true of her reference to three of the four sisters in her first talk with the hero (E.V. 52). Cf. also E.V. 209.

Pastime—ll. 5026 ff.; cf. *E.V.* 15 ff.), the debate (*P.P.* ll. 2052 ff., 3109 ff.), the gold arras (*P.P.* ll. 5250 ff.), the bridge motif (*P.P.* ll. 5362 ff.), the inscription (*P.P.* ll. 134 ff.), the meeting with seven ladies (*P.P.* ll. 4862 ff.), the rout of allegorical dames, Minerva (*P.P.* ll. 3327 ff.), the symbolical armour (*P.P.* ll. 3375 ff.), the wilderness (*P.P.* ll. 4922 ff.), the identically phrased device of anaphora (*P.P.* ll. 4050 ff.), and the prominence of Dame Sapience (*P.P.* ll. 2434 ff., ll. 3945 ff.). Reference to the Four Daughters of God debate also occurs in the *Pastime* (*P.P.* ll. 5698 ff.).¹

An example from another portion of the poem serves to illustrate Hawes' method, which seems to me responsible for the vacillation of critics faced with the *Court of Sapience* provenience. In the castle of Correction, in the *Pastime*, the hero is conducted through a dungeon (*P.P.*, ll. 4196 ff.). Dr. Mead's notes on the passage recognise the suggestion of mediæval homilies and similar works describing the place of future punishment—perhaps Dante.² The dungeon consists of three levels: "the vpper warde" (*P.P.*, l. 4198), where are confined those men who rejected true love; the jailer then "lower dyde vs brynge" (*P.P.*, l. 4210), where are punished those who spread false reports in love; and finally, "yet we wente in to a deper vale" (*P.P.*, l. 4218) reserved for the betrayers of maidens.

The relation of this description to the following anecdote of St. Macarius, from Caxton's *Golden Legend*, seems certainly forced:

It happed on a time S. Macarius found in his way the head of a dead man, and he demanded of it whose head it was, and the head answered: Of a paynim, and Macarius said to him: Where is thy soul? He answered: In hell; and he demanded if it were deep in hell, and he said: Deeper than is from heaven to earth. And after he demanded if there were any beneath him, and he said the Jews be lower than he was; he asked if there were any lower or beneath the Jews; to whom he said that the false christian men be yet lower and deeper in hell than the Jews, for as much as they have despited and villained the blood of Jesus Christ of which they were redeemed, so much the more be they tormented.

To assert that this exemplum undoubtedly founded Hawes' episode would seem rash indeed. And yet, filtered through the medium of the *Example of Virtue*, it stands out clearly as the background of the poet's conception.

¹ For other instances of similarity, cf. Burkart, pp. 51 ff., who notes the influence of the prologue on the *Pastime*. Cf. above, p. 284.

² Mead, p. 240.

In the earlier poem *Virtue*, after his marriage to Cleanness, tours the other world. The first place they come to is

the uppermost part of Hell,
In which Paynims damned do dwell (*E.V.* 270);

Then went we down to another vault,
Where Jews lay in great pains strong (*E.V.* 272);

Then went we down to a deeper vale,
Where Christians souls did weep and cry (*E.V.* 274).

Comparison of these three relations at once makes the provenience recognisable—the dungeon of Correction in the *Pastime*, with its three levels of punishment according to culpability in sin, is identical with the outline of hell as described by the skull to Macarius.¹

In conclusion, then, it has been my aim to prove the dependence of Hawes upon the *Court of Sapience*, a dependence readily ascertained in his earlier poem, the *Example of Virtue*; and to attempt to account for the wariness of scholars in assigning its influence in the later *Pastime of Pleasure*. The *Court of Sapience* was the moulding force in the composition of the *Example of Virtue*, the latter in turn patterning the *Pastime of Pleasure*. This filtration of the *Court's* provenience through Hawes' earlier poem thus accounts for the problem.

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¹ For the sake of brevity, I chose the Caxton version of the exemplum for quotation, although convinced that it is not the one used by Hawes. He is indebted, however, to some form of the story founded on Jacques de Voragine and not on the earlier *Vitæ Patrum* versions. This will be discussed in my forthcoming study on the *Example of Virtue*.

LYLY'S SONGS

BY R. WARWICK BOND

THE revival in recent years by Mr. W. J. Lawrence, Professor E. Bliss Read and others of a question which many may have deemed settled by Dr. W. Greg's article in *Mod. Lang. Review*, October 1905, opposing Lyly's authorship of the songs in Blount's *Sixe Court Comedies*, 1632, has occasioned me some self-reproach for my long neglect of this matter. In my edition of 1902 I had said what I could in support of a claim not then strongly opposed, and, weary of Lyly and much preoccupied otherwise, I have abstained from further utterance save in an *Athenæum* letter half a year later. But this is not to say that Dr. Greg's arguments, even though accepted in 1910 by my brilliant Lylian *confrère*, Professor A. Feuillerat, have ever convinced myself; and the recent claim of the songs for the Earl of Oxford by Mr. B. M. Ward reminds me that my author should not suffer by my supineness.

I must reassert what seems to me to afford a strong presumption of Lyly's authorship, that each of these thirty-three songs (adding now the "Hymen" at the close of *Gallathea*) is plainly announced in the dialogue, stage-directions, or both, of its respective original quarto, so that none can reasonably deny that songs were contemplated by Lyly, and were probably given at the original performances, nor do I feel sure that Dr. Greg intends that denial; that two of them (however poor and slight, one a snatch of mad-song) actually exist in the quarto of *The Woman*, 1597; and that Blount's Preface markedly insists on Lyly's poetic side, his "Musike," "Tunes," "Light Ayres," "Bayes" and "Lyre," referring no doubt to his own recovery of these songs, which have made Lyly's withered laurels "greene againe."

I believe the three in *Campaspe* are the key of the whole position; for these are the earliest, two of them among the best, and, if Lyly's, should be written before the Court performance on January 1, 1582.

(1) The first is the trio of the convivial Pages. Dr. Greg argued that its resemblance in language to that at the end of Middleton's *Spanish Gipsy*, III, i (produced 1623, first pr. 1658) would only be natural if the song were written in or about Blount's time, hardly so if composed forty or fifty years before; but of his parallels ("girls" for the more usual "wenches," and the mention of wines) "girie" is in *Rom. & Jul.*, Q1, I, iii, and even Chaucerian ("gerl," A, 3769), and, of two others which I observe, "fine dancing" and "fat capons," "good capon" at least is in Jaques' great speech. As to the wines, to two of which Greg objects as too early, "Canaria wine" is one of a list of those in demand in England in Gascoigne's *Delicate Diet for Droonkards*, 1576 (Ed. Cunliffe, 1910, ii, 467); while Mr. H. C. Hart's note on *Merry Wives*, III, ii, 89 (Arden ed.) cites from Hakluyt large captures thereof in Spanish prizes, "30 tuns of Canarie wines" (*Voyage of Barker of Bristol*, 1576), "three hundred butts of Canarie wine" (Lancaster, *Voyage to East Indies*, 1591-94), some of which and other such must have found its way to the vintners: and a supply of "Palermo" may well have been brought home with his other luxuries by Lord Oxford, who was at the town in spring of 1576 (Mr. B. M. Ward, p. 112), and tasted by his secretary before 1582. To me Middleton's dialogue at the end of his scene seems to forbid rather than require a song, and, while quite admitting the likeness, I consider his song as imitated from that in Blount and inserted before 1658, while he simply copied it with change of only two words in *A Mad World*, Q2, 1640.

(2) For "Cupid and my Campaspe," whose dainty grace and mastery of form is surprising in 1582, Professor Littledale drew my attention to its original in Desportes' *Diane*, i, 15, pub. 1575, wherein Love, Diana and the poet's mistress stake respectively their bow, beauty or pride at a shooting-match which his mistress wins, and then turns to wreak these acquired powers on the poet:

Ainsi sur moy, chétif, tombe toute la perte (cf. closing couplet of our song).

Surely that model removes half our difficulty—Sir S. Lee's *French Renaissance*, 1910, p. 218, also recognised Lyly's debt; and similar French grace is not wanting in the prose scenes dealing with Love and Cupid in *Sapho* and *Gallathea*, or in the dialogue between Apelles and Campaspe themselves. Almost might Lyly exclaim with Cowley:

Teach me to love! go teach thyself more wit:
I chief professor am of it.

(3) More cogent is the case for the song on birds' notes, the importance of which for the whole question was inadequately realised by myself at first, though put clearly at the end of my long letter on the "Doubtful Poems" in the *Athenæum*, May 16, 1903, where Professor G. P. Baker alone seems to have noticed it (*Camb. Hist. of Lit.*, v, 125). Lyly's claim is supported not only by mention of the nightingale before and thrush just after, but far more vitally by his source, Diogenes Laertius' *Vita Philosophorum*, vi, 2, a work not Englished before 1688. There the Cynic first attracts attention by *imitating the voices of birds*, and then gibes at the Athenians' folly in flocking to hear him. In Lyly this does double duty. First, in iv, i, following *Howleglas*, or *Scogin's Jest* (bef. 1577) or the Viennese Kalenberger (early sixteenth century), he makes Diogenes, after promising *to fly* like a bird, abuse the Athenians for flocking to see it; secondly he consigns the imitation of birds' voices to this pretty song in a later Diogenes scene (v, i), which song thus takes rank as no mere adventitious appendage, but as part and parcel of the author's constructive use of his material; and I have now to add that this important bit of circumstantial evidence draws in its train another of these songs, that of Rixula in *M. Bombie*, III, iv, where the imitation of birds' notes is briefly resumed with owl, sparrow, goose, duck and parrot. To suppose the song written to Blount's order is to suppose either that the writer set about hunting for Lyly's sources, and, having lit upon the *Vita*, divined and fulfilled Lyly's intention, or else independently hit upon the idea of imitating birds' notes, where any other subject for the song was possible, for in the dialogue it is only the quality of Trico's voice that is in question. Surely either supposition makes too heavy a demand on our credulity! If this be granted, as I think it must be, Dr. Greg's ingenious argument for the priority of the form of the song in Ford and Dekker's *Sun's Darling* (Dekker's original 1624, pr. 1656 Q.) falls to the ground. The scholar's axiom, "*Difficilior lectio potior*," very useful in the absence of external evidence, loses its force here, though I should not accept all Greg's detailed arguments.

He adds a paragraph on some individual words, but I hardly think his objections well sustained. I cannot indeed find "butter-box" for a Hollander (*Sapho*, III, ii) or "caper" for a Dutch privateer (*Gall.* i, iv) in Gascoigne, as I expected; but four instances of the former occur in a play by Oxford's servants, *The Weakest goeth to*

the Wall, pr. 1600, and Lyly might hear the word long before from Oxford himself. But the intervention of many Englishmen in the Dutch struggle against Spain from 1572 onwards is of help to my argument. The song in *Sapho* (1582) represents the Englishman and Dutchman as *fighting on the same side*: this would not naturally occur to a writer in Blount's time, 1628-32. "Caper" (Du. *kapen*, rob, plunder) has, of course, English equivalents, and is only used for the sake of the pun. But the famous corsairs of De la Marck, better known as "Les Gueux de Mer," to which William of Orange issued letters of marque in 1569, and the capture of Brill and Flushing by which in 1572 gave such an impulse to the anti-Spanish revolt, would still be fresh in Englishmen's minds at the date of *Gallathea*, 1584. These Dutch allusions point to an early date. "Batten" (*Endim.*, III, iii, 1585), which Greg would confine to the seventeenth century, occurs in *The Jew of Malta*, III, iv (1589-90). I have not the book of heraldry from which Fairholt took his note on "checker'd-apron men" (*Midas*, III, ii) for barbers, but such a book is likely to be rooted pretty far back. I don't think the Dictionary much of an ally to Dr. Greg. Looking in the downward direction the only other instance of "purs" as verb (*Gall.*, I, iv) is *The Scornful Ladie*, I, i (1609-10); of drinking "till the grounde looke blew" (*Sapho*, II, iii) the only other quoted is of 1616; while I doubt if the inclination to "flinging Hats ith' fire" (*M. Bomb.*, II, i, 1590) in like happy case, persists beyond *Eastward Hoe*, II, i (pr. 1605), "hurle away a brown dozen of Monmouth cappes or so."

I fear this scepticism about Lyly's authorship is based on the idea that he was incurably *prosateur* and *could* not write songs, though in those days probably every third man about the Court could. Professor Feuillerat, though he acquiesced in Greg's article, has clearly recognised the element of poetry in this author: "Il a bu profondément à la fontaine sacrée de Castalie et, même quand il écrit en prose, il sait parler le divin langage de l'imagination" (*Lyly*, p. 403)—an element I had endeavoured to illustrate in my own essay. I have never claimed much merit for more than a few of these songs; but why that master of phrase and vocabulary, the Euphuist, who tells us of "passions" of his own written some time before 1582, should have to beg or commission songs instead of writing them; and why, under such a disability, he should have prescribed the large number of thirty-three songs in only eight

plays, are questions that seem to require a good deal of answering. The absence of the words of songs announced in old texts of plays is far from unexampled, and I have supposed such due in some way to their close association with the music. Of Bullen's 268 Lyrics from Elizabethan Song-books, he reports only 16 as found elsewhere; and Campion speaks of "enfranchising" some of his by collecting them in a song-book in 1613.

It seems unlikely now that we shall get any closer to this question; nor should I myself feel a contemporary attribution to Lyly, if such should turn up, any better evidence than that afforded by the *Vitæ*, with Rixula's song in its train.

As for Oxford—I have read Mr. Ward's book, which I think in other respects of considerable use, but see no reason to credit Oxford with the deft grace of the best, or the hilarity of the most, of these songs.

A QUESTION OF PLUS OR MINUS

By W. W. GREG

PROFESSOR DOVER WILSON, in the course of his discussion of the copy for the first quarto of *Hamlet* that appeared in *The Library* some twelve years ago,¹ invented the term "repetition-bracket" for a peculiar phenomenon of that version. It consists in the repetition of a line or phrase within a scene, and points, according to his view, to the intervening lines being an addition to the original text. He quoted in particular the following instance from I, ii (1603, B4-B4^v):²

- Ham.* I am very glad to see you, good euen sirs :
• But what is your affaire in *Elsenoure* ?
Weele teach you to drinke deepe ere you depart.
Hor. A trowant disposition, my good Lord.
Ham. Nor shall you make mee truster
Of your owne report against your selfe :
Sir, I know you are no trowant :
• But what is your affaire in *Elsenoure* ?
Hor. My good Lord, I came to see your fathers funerall.

This is the first and perhaps the most striking example. The others cited are : I, v (1603, C4) "... briefe let me be. [14 lines] ... briefe let me be"; II, i (1603, D2-D2^v) "And bid him ply his learning good *Montano*. [26 lines.] *Cor.* And bid him ply his musicke"; III, ii (1603, F3) "*Ofel.* What meanes this my Lord ? [1 line.] *Ofel.* What doth this meane my lord ?"; v, i (1603, H4), "Goe fetch me a stope of drinke, . . . [12 lines.] . . . Fetch me a stope of beere, goe."

It is not necessary for my present purpose to inquire the precise nature or mechanism of the supposed insertions. Nor do I propose to raise the question whether Mr. Dover Wilson is right in seeing in these "repetition-brackets" evidence of insertion at all. It seems possible to regard them as quite likely results of memorial reconstruction. But whatever their significance in the 1603 *Hamlet* may be, there are undoubtedly certain texts, derived from playhouse copies, in which similar phenomena might very plausibly be regarded

¹ "The Copy for *Hamlet*, 1603," July 1918, ix, 153 ff.

² In this and other quotations I have marked with a star the lines containing the "bracketing" phrases.

as evidence of insertion. The usual method of making an addition to the text of a manuscript play was to place some mark at the point at which the insertion was to stand and then to write in the margin or on a separate slip the additional lines, concluding with the following line of the original text. Here is an example from *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (fol. 32ⁿ):

Hel. mass so it does
 let a man thinck on't twice, yo^r grace hath hapned
 vpon a straung waie, yet it proues the neerest :
 o I do beseech yo^r ma^{ty}, looke cheerfull
 yo^u shall not want content, . . .

A separate slip supplies the addition :

Ty. nay more to vex his sowle giue comaund strait
 they be deuided into seuerall Roomes
 wher he may only haue a sight of her
 to his myndes torment, but his armes and lips
 lockt vp like fellons, from her
Helu. now yo^u win me
 I like that crueltie passing well my lord
Ty. giue order wth all speed
Hel. Thoe I be ould
 I need no spurr my l : *Honor* prickes me
 I do beseech yo^r grace look cheerfullie &c.

Now it is evident that if a compositor, with this manuscript before him, were to follow his copy exactly, he would get two consecutive lines nearly identical, and he might be trusted to use his intelligence to omit one of them. In that he would be following the author's or reviser's intention, and his text would preserve no bibliographical evidence of the addition. If, however, the intended position of the extra lines were at all ambiguous—and that position is by no means always so clearly marked as in the example just cited—a very different condition might result. Suppose, for example, that in this case the compositor were to make the addition a line too low, it is obvious that he would produce a text substantially similar to the one Mr. Dover Wilson quotes from *Hamlet*, and one in which the "repetition-bracket" would be genuine evidence that the "bracketed" lines were an insertion. The question arises whether this principle can in practice be put to critical use.

I wish to direct attention to two passages of *The Honest Man's Fortune* as printed in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647, which present features similar to those we have been discussing. They occur close together in the first scene, and indeed on the same page of the folio (p. 151, sig. 5T2). The first is as follows—

Montague is awaiting news of the issue of a law-suit in which his fortune is at stake : ¹

Enter Longueville.

Mont. Longueville thou bringst a cheerfull promise in thy face.
There stands no pale report upon thy cheek,
To give me feare or knowledge of my losse, tis red and lively.

- How proceeds my suit ?

Long. That's with labour sir, a labour that to those of *Hercules*
May adde another ; or (at least) be cald
[An] imitation of [his] burning shirt :
For twas a paine of that unmercifull
Perplexity, to shulder through the throng
Of people that attended your successe :
My sweaty linnen fixt upon my skin,
Still as they puld me, tooke that with it ; 'twas
A feare I should have left my flesh among 'em :
Yet I was patient, for (me thought) the toyle
Might be an emblem of the difficult
And weary passage to get out of Law.
And to make up the deare similitude,
When I was forth seeking my handkircher
To wipe my sweat off, I did finde a cause
To make me sweat more, for my Purse was lost
Among their [fingers].

Dub. There twas rather found.

Long. By them.

Dub. I mean so.

Mont. Well, I will restore

- Thy damage to thee : how proceeds my suit ?

[*Long.*] Like one at Brokers ; I thinke forfeited. . . .

The second instance occurs when, the cause lost, the lawyers pass over the stage and refuse so much as to notice their now destitute client :

Long. Let me see I pray sir,
Never stood you upon the pillory ?

¹ *Law.* The Pillory ?

Long. O now I know you did not.
Y'ave eares, I thought ye had lost 'em ; pray observe,
Here's one that once was gracious in [your] eyes.

- ¹ *Law.* O my Lord, have an eye upon him.

Long. But ha' you nere a Counsell to redeeme
His Land yet from the judgement ?

² *Law.* None but this, a writ of errour to remove the cause.

Long. No more of errour, we have been in that too much already.

² *Law.* If you will reverse the judgement, you must trust to that delay.

Long. Delay ? Indeed he's like to trust to that,
With you has any dealing.

² *Law.* Ere the Law proceeds to an *habere facias possessionem*.

Dub. That's a language sir, I understand not.

Long. Th'art a very strange unthankfull fellow to have taken Fees of such
a liberall measure, and then give a man hard words for's money.

[*Mont.* So, tis gone.]

¹ *Law.* If men will hazzard their salvations,

¹ Certain corrections of the folio text are made in square brackets ; they are derived from the manuscript to be mentioned later.

What should I say? I've other businesse. [*Exit Law.*]

Mont. Y'are ith' right;

That's it you should say now prosperity has left me.

Enter two Creditors.

* *I Cred.* Have an eye upon him; if

We lose him now, he's gone for ever; stay

And dog him: Ile goe fetch the officers.

In the first of these passages we get a repetition of the phrase "How proceeds my suit?" and it is pretty evident that the first time it occurs it is a mistake. For one thing, when we have divided the lines properly it is seen to be metrically redundant; and, what is more important, Longueville replies, not to this important question, but to Montague's previous reference to his flushed face. It would seem, therefore, quite plausible to suggest that the "bracketed" lines are actually an addition that has been worked into the text half a line too late, even though the objection might be raised that it is curious to draw attention to Longueville's lively colour if no explanation is to be given of it.

In the second passage the words "have an eye upon him" seem to possess on their first occurrence no meaning whatever, in spite of the superficially specious echo of the previous line, which is in fact mere coincidence. The only possible criticism of the insertion theory in this case is that the presence of a stage-direction and speaker's name immediately before the second occurrence slightly complicates the mechanism.

In spite of the slight objections I have indicated, I think that, had any one drawn my attention to these two passages, I should have accepted the explanation of them as additions made in the copy without much hesitation and I fancy that in doing so I should not have stood alone.

It happens, however, that for *The Honest Man's Fortune* we are lucky enough to possess a second text in a manuscript in the Dyce collection. This was prepared for reliance by Herbert, 8 February, 1624/5, at a time when the "Original" of 1613 was "Lost". This is not the place to discuss the relation of the manuscript and the printed text, nor am I at present prepared to pronounce upon it. Suffice it to say that in spite of certain specific differences of the text the relation must be a very close one, as appears from the numerous passages of incorrect lining common to the two; that each in many instances corrects the other; and that the manuscript has a particular bearing upon the problem in hand.

In the first place, the conclusion we have already come to that the repetitions are the result of accident is confirmed by the manuscript, which omits in each case the first occurrence of the words. But what I think is of more particular significance is that in the first of the two passages the "bracketed" lines are marked for omission. There are a number of passages so marked in the manuscript, and in each case the folio prints the full text, in spite of the fact that it seems to be derived from another playhouse manuscript which was probably similarly scored, though perhaps not always at the same points. In view of these omissions I think that the minor objections to the insertion theory that we noted above acquire fresh weight. I suggest, in fact, that we have to do, not with additions at all, but with excisions. It would seem that whoever worked on the manuscript subsequently used as copy for the folio, when he made the cuts in question, cancelled, either by accident or design, the words immediately following the cut, and then repeated them in the margin at the head of the cut to serve as a link. It would be natural enough to do so, since where a passage was cancelled it was often necessary to supply such a link; indeed, the Dyce manuscript affords an excellent instance of this very practice.¹ And such an accident would exactly account for the text as we find it printed in the folio. It is true that in the second passage quoted the manuscript does not indicate any omission, but it is difficult to suppose that the confusion had not the same origin in both instances, and I have little doubt that the cause was a cut in the prompt copy.

It would appear, therefore, that the "repetition-bracket" may be brought about in two diametrically opposite ways, and may point either to addition or to subtraction. And when we recall that the insertion theory always requires us to suppose that the printer mistook by a line or so the place of the insertion, we may wonder whether the omission theory has not at least equal claim to consideration. I am not saying which explanation, if either, applies to the instances in the "bad" first quarto of *Hamlet*, but I hope that before any critic yields to the temptation of extending to more reputable texts Mr. Dover Wilson's conclusions as to "bracketed" additions, he will consider rather carefully the possibilities of the case and such evidence as there may be available.

¹ Fol. 20^b, where the words "but I may spare my labour. heer's my lady" have been written in between the lines at the head of a long passage marked for omission.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

CAXTON'S BOOK OF THE ORDRE OF CHYUALRY: A FRENCH MANUSCRIPT IN BRUSSELS

IN 1926 I edited for the Early English Text Society *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, which Caxton translated and printed from a French version of a work by Ramón Lull, the Majorcan mystic, who was murdered by the Saracens in North Africa in 1315. Miss Helen Buckhurst's review of the book in *The Review of English Studies*, vol. iv, No. 16, p. 440 (October 1928), contains a synopsis of the main points in my Introduction, which includes (pp. xvi-xix) an account of all the manuscripts of the French versions that I was able to trace and examine at the time, in London, Oxford, and Paris. While working at the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, last summer, I chanced upon another MS. of *L'Ordre de Chevalerie*, of which I have not found any record in accounts of the work. As the MS. has many points of interest, I propose to supplement the list of ten MSS. in my edition by a description of the Brussels MS.

Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS. 10493-97.

129 ff., the first four and the last four being blank. Parchment.
256 × 178 mm. It contains:

1. Le Livre de l'Orde de Chevalerie, ff. 1-57.
2. Enseignements d'un père a son fils sur les devoirs d'un chevalier, ff. 57-64.
3. Jean Mielot: Epître to S. Bernard à Raymont, seigneur du chastel Saint Ambroise, ff. 64-70.
4. La controversie de noblesse plaidoyée entre Publius Cornelius Scipion d'une part et entre Gayus Flaminius d'autre part, laquelle a este faite et composée par ung notable docteur en loix et grant orateur nommé Surse de Pistoye. (Translated from the Italian of Bonaccorso de Pistoja, by Leon Mielot, one of the secretaries of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy).
5. Ung debat entre trois chevaleureux princes, ff. 110^v.-121.

The most interesting of these tracts, besides the *Ordre de*

Chevalerie, is *La Controverſie de Noblesse*, of which Caxton in 1481 printed an English translation by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. Henry Medwall, Cardinal Morton's chaplain, dramatised it as the interlude of *Fulgens and Lucrece*.

The manuscript formed part of the library of the powerful de Croy family, who had great influence in the days of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. The splendour of the courts of the Dukes of Burgundy in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century has recently been described in a notable book in the *History of Civilization* series: *The Court of Burgundy*, by Otto Cartellieri. The manuscripts now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels are the chief relics of this past magnificence, and the MSS. of the de Croy vie in beauty with those of the ducal house itself, though the present MS. is one of the less ornate. The first de Croy of note was the Seigneur de Renty, Jean de Croy, who was killed at Agincourt in 1415. His third son, Jean, became the first Seigneur de Chimay, and was made a count by Charles the Bold in 1473, the year of his death. As literary adviser to Philip the Good, he began to form a library, while his son, Philip, Seigneur de Sempy, who died in 1482, was one of the chief patrons of the Flemish illuminators. Philip de Croy also acquired many MSS. from Charles the Bold, in which he inserted, among the borders and miniatures, his motto, "Moy seul," the de Croy arms with the eldest son's "lambel d'azur," and in many places a small three-coloured bell. The last device alludes to his custom of hanging small bells on his horse's armour when on active service. In MS. 10493 the de Croy arms appear inside the large initial letters on ff. 1, 2, 75 verso, and 86. The initial E on f. 2 contains the bell in the upper part and the arms in the lower. Philip's son and successor, Charles de Croy, became Prince de Chimay in 1486, when Chimay was made a principality by Maximilian. About eighty of the MSS. of this famous line of book-lovers are extant, and fifty-four of them are in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels.

The devices in MS. 10493 indicate that it came into the possession of the de Croy family during the lifetime of Philip, but on f. 121 verso appears the "ex-libris" inscription of Charles, written before 1486.

Cest le livre nommé le chevalier hermite ou il y a six histoires, lequel est a monseigneur Charles de Croy, comte de Chimay.

CHARLES.

The signature is written in the count's own hand, as in most of the Chimay MSS.¹ The MS. later passed into the hands of Marguerite of Austria. Its later history is told in a MS. note at the foot of f. 1 :

Ce volume, enlevé de la Bibliothèque ducale de Bourgoyne en 1746 et qui depuis lors a été placé dans la Bibliothèque du Roi à Paris, a été restitué par la France et replacé à Bruxelles dans la Bibliothèque de Bourgoyne, le 7 juin, 1770.

On ff. 1 and 121 can be seen the stamps of the Bibliothèque de Bourgoyne and of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the latter partly obliterated by the stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale.

The volume is bound in red morocco, with gilt edges, which are further decorated with two of Philip de Croy's bells. The borders are also gilt, while on the back is stamped in gilt the title : *Recueil de divers traittie* [sic] and double monograms, crowned, of Louis XV. The arms of France are stamped in gilt on both covers.

The MS. is ruled throughout, with twenty-four lines to a full page. Chapter headings are in red, paragraph marks in gold, and initials in gold on a ground of red and blue. The handwriting is neat and unpretentious. There are the following miniatures, very carefully and accurately delineated :

f. 1. This miniature illustrates the common practice of including several scenes in one picture. It depicts the main incidents of the meeting between the squire and the hermit-knight in the first chapter of *L'Ordre de Chevalerie*. At the top centre of a pastoral scene appears the squire asleep on his horse ; on the right the squire greets the hermit ; on the left the hermit shows the Book of Chivalry to the squire.

f. 57 (illustrating the second tract). A father gives instruction to his son.

f. 71. Jean Mielot presents his epistle to a nobleman, who is attended by four pages. Through the open door and window can be seen a fine landscape, with spires in the distance.

f. 75 verso (illustrating *La controverse de noblesse*). Discourse of Scipio before the senators of Rome. Lucrece is present, wearing a tall mediæval headdress.

f. 86. The speech of Flaminius to the same audience, who have re-arranged themselves in this miniature.

f. 110 verso (illustrating the fifth item). A room, in the left-hand part of which the author is presenting his work to a patron, while on the other side Alexander, Hannibal, and Scipio are debating before Minos, one of the judges of the underworld.

¹ Much interesting information about these MSS. is contained in a study written by Alphonse Bayot on MS. 9510, *L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu* (Martin le Franc), and published by Maurice Rousseau, Paris (1928).

William Blades noted that MSS. of most of the French works which Caxton translated can be found in the libraries of Flanders, where Caxton spent a long and prosperous career as a merchant, and later as literary adviser to the Duchess of Burgundy. I have classified the various versions of the *Ordre of Chyualry* on p. xxxvi of my edition. MS. 10493 closely resembles Additional MS. 22768 in the British Museum. It was from some MS. of this type that Caxton made his translation.

ALFRED T. P. BYLES.

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AN ALLUSION IN MASSINGER

Pisander. O the gods !
My ribs, though made of Brasse can not containe
My heart swolne big with rage. The lye ! Whippe ? ¹ *Plucks off his*
Let fury then disperse these clouds, in which *disguise.*
I long haue mask'd disguis'd ; that when they know,
Whom they haue iniur'd, they may faint with horror
Of my reuenge, which wretched men expect,
As sure as fate to suffer.

(Philip Massinger, *The Bond-man* (1624, sigs. L2^v-L3^r), v. iii. 151-158 ;
Plays (Gifford, 1813), ii. 112.)

I FEEL sure that Mr. W. J. Lawrence (*R.E.S.*, vi. 75-76) is right in condemning Gifford's capricious alteration of *mask'd* to *march'd*, but is it necessary to see in these lines a topical allusion to Jonson's masque of *Time Vindicated* ? The resemblance is in any case slight, while the dramatic emergence of a god or hero from a concealing cloud is not a very recondite conception, and had been used before in masques "grounded upon antiquity and solid learning,"² such as Jonson's *Hymenæi* (1605), in which

. . . the upper part of the scene, which was all of clouds, and made artificially to swell, and ride like the rack, began to open ; and the air clearing, from the top thereof was discovered Juno . . .³

If a specific allusion be required, Gifford's note, which Mr. Lawrence does not quote, furnishes an alternative one : "I believe that Massinger had the first *Æneid* in his thoughts." Gifford

¹ Whippe ? *quartos*: A Whip ! *Coxeter and editors.*

² Ben Jonson, *Works* (Gifford-Cunningham), vii. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

refers to the cloud in which Venus shrowded Aeneas and Achates on their approach to Dido's city, of which the relevant descriptions (*Aen.* i. 411-414, 586-595) are thus rendered by Phaer¹:

But *Venus* as they went, a weede about them both she foldes,
Of myst and cloud and aire so thicke, that no man shuld them spie
Ne do them harme, nor interrupt, nor aske them who nor why.

Skant had he spoke, and sodenly the cloud from them withdrew,
And vanisht into aier alone, and left them bare in light.
Aeneas stode and freshly shind, all men be hold him might,
Most like a god with face and hew, for than his mother deare
Set furth her son with shoulders faier, and comly shind his heare.
And with a roset youth his cies and countnance ouerheard,
And white as burnisht Iuery fine his neck and hands appeard,
Ful like as if the siluer cleare, or pearles are put in gold.
Than to the Queene he steps, and said (all sodeinly) behold
He that you seeke, lo here I am, *Aeneas* Troian I:
Escap'd from the *Lyby* seas where lost I was welny.

The parallel is certainly not perfect, but in each case the central idea is the sudden appearance of the handsome, noble, far-famed hero. And the passage was certainly in Massinger's thoughts, for there is a clear parody of the penultimate line earlier in the same play, when the booby Asotus, overhearing Corisca's expression of a wish for his presence, exclaims:

Loe whom you wish, behold *Asotus* here!

(*The Bond-man* (1624, sig. E2'), II. ii. 112; *Plays* (Gifford, 1813), II. 46.)

A. K. McILWRAITH.

WILLIAM TREVELL AND THE WHITEFRIARS THEATRE

WHILST searching among some of the vast mass of uncalendered documents in the Court of Requests bundles for the reign of James I, I happened to strike a particularly decayed and tattered Bill and its answers which turned out on examination to be the Trevill *v.* Methold suit of June 1610 of which Mr. H. C. Hillebrand had found a note in the *Decrees and Orders* of that court. The suit, when pieced together with the aid of a magnifying-glass and a good deal of deduction, adds a certain amount of definite information to

¹ *The whole*. xii. *Bookes of the Æneidos of Virgil, . . . conuerted into English Meeter by Thomas Phaër Esquier* . . . 1573. Sigs. B2^r and B4^v.

the history of the Whitefriars Theatre, besides being of interest from a purely human point of view.

The story of William Trevell as told in the Bill at present labelled "Court of Requests 292/59" and dated May 16, 1610, is as follows:

He was a married man, with five small children, and by his occupation a chandler. Apparently his capital was but slender, for when he was persuaded by Sir Anthony Ashley to buy "to his great cost and charge" a sixth share in the Whitefriars Playhouse, he was compelled to borrow the money with which to make his purchase. He thus became indebted to Hugh Fountaine, Esquire, Emanuel Fenton, Thomas Harington, Margaret Dehorse (or Deborse), Edward Cowlyn and Henry Crathorne. These people, it seems, had nothing to do with the theatrical enterprise. They merely put up the money which enabled Trevell to enter into the snare. Trevell thus became a member of the King's Revels syndicate, whose other members were Martin Slatier (or Slator), Lording Barry, George Androwes, Michael Drayton, William Cooke, Edward Sibthorpe and John Mason.

The unfortunate story of this enterprise has already become part of the history of the Elizabethan drama through the Chancery suit of Androwes *v.* Slatier. Trevell, who had doubtless expected a quick return on his borrowed capital, found himself compelled to spend further sums of money on the equipment and maintenance of the Playhouse. He was forced to borrow again. This time he became indebted to William Methold, John Keyle, William Cooke, Felex Wilson, Richard Blacke, Richard Jobber, Thomas Woodforde, George Androwes, Richard Bradgen, Martin Slator, Michael Drayton, Elizabeth Browne, and John Markes. Of these people, William Cooke, George Androwes, Martin Slator and Michael Drayton were members of the syndicate. Of William Methold, John Keyle, Richard Blacke, Richard Jobber and Richard Bradgen, nothing can be said, except that the last-named was apparently an acquaintance of George Androwes, with whom he associates himself in his answer to Trevell's Bill. Thomas Woodforde was the original owner of George Androwes' half-share in the syndicate. Felex Wilson was an attorney, and the debt in this case seems to have been for professional services. Elizabeth Browne sent in an answer to Trevell's Bill, from which it appears that she lent him £52 on February 5, 1608, to be repaid on August 8 next following. None of this money, she says, was repaid to her at all. She seems to have

had no connection with the theatre. John Markes appears in another Court of Requests suit (No. 399/18) as one of the creditors of a certain Haughton. Possibly he was a wealthy tradesman who made a practice of money-lending.

According to Trevell's own story he was only a surety for some of the bonds thus entered into, and there were two or three others in each bond besides himself. He also states that he subsequently repaid most of the money.

His expenses, however, did not end here. He laid out—again according to his own statement—£216 19s. in addition to his borrowings. This seems a large amount, but tallies fairly well with the £300 stated to have been spent by George Androwes. If each of the sharers paid up to the same extent, the losses on the King's Revels must have amounted to some £1800. Androwes, however, accuses his colleagues of having evaded their share of the responsibility.

These losses were evidently largely occasioned by the restraints brought about by Chapman's *Biron* plays and by the visitation of the plague between July and December 1608. Finally, the sharers were unable to pay the rent of their theatre and Sir Anthony Ashley turned them out. Whether it was this ejection, or some action on the part of his fellow-sharers that left Martin Slator homeless is not quite clear.

As soon as the blow fell, there began a wild scramble on the part both of the sharers and of their creditors to save something from the wreck. Trevell states that George Androwes and Martin Slator "conveyed all the whole stocke of apparell of the saide playehouse away and converted it to their owne use", without giving him one penny of its value, although it was, of course, the common property of all the sharers. This collusion on the part of Androwes and Slator seems rather extraordinary in the face of the Chancery suit. Possibly what really happened was that Slator began the removal of the apparel in order to sell it or to equip himself for the provinces, and Androwes, realising what was happening, stepped in and seized something for himself. This might partly explain Slator's dark hints in the Chancery suit that Androwes and others were withholding from him some of his property.

All those who could anyhow scrape up a pretext turned to the law for relief. Trevell's creditors sued him at the Common Law. According to the answer of Bradgen and Androwes, he was still in 1610 an outlaw under a writ of *capias ut legatum* issued from the

Court of Common Pleas on the suit of the former. But this was not all. Thomas Woodforde had managed to recoup himself to some extent out of the unfortunate man's goods. From another note in the *Decrees and Orders* books quoted by Mr. Hillebrand it appears that he sued him for the forfeiture of two bonds. John Markes went one further. He had obtained an assignment of the lease of Trevell's dwelling-house on his failure to return £60 which remained due from his debt, and he eventually sold the house for £50, so that Trevell was "like to be turned forth of dores his wife and five small children." He defends himself in an answer to Trevell's Bill on the ground that he could find no other way of recovering his money.

Trevell had tried to save himself by means of a commission, which gave him permission to compound his debts, but his second group of creditors refused to abide by its decision. Whether he obtained relief as a result of the present suit is not recorded, unless it is the same as the Trevell *v.* Androwes suit which was dismissed with 20s. costs in the next year. He was still being badgered by Woodforde in 1642, when he again turned for relief to the Court of Requests.

M. J. DICKSON.

THOMAS SHADWELL'S SATIRE ON EDWARD HOWARD

An interesting poem of Thomas Shadwell appears to have been overlooked.

In 1669 the Hon. Edward Howard published his epic *The British Princes*, a small octavo of about two hundred pages. The poem apparently fell flat, as no second edition was ever called for; but it remained in the public memory long enough for Steele to satirise it in the 43rd *Spectator*.

The poem was violently and scurrilously attacked by a number of Howard's contemporaries, inspired probably by personal animus as much as by critical zeal. Rochester's satire, beginning:

As when a Bully draws his Sword

was printed in his *Poems*, 1701, p. 70.

Dryden's verses :

Our Bard most bravely draws up his Militia

were printed in *Poems of State*, 1687.

A manuscript volume in the Bodleian Library (MS. Eng. Poet e. 4.) contains a whole group of such satires, nine in number, including the two already mentioned. The remaining seven have probably not been printed up to the present.

The volume is a transcript, in one hand throughout, with the exception of a few minor corrections, of miscellaneous poems which may be attributed to the period of 1650-1675. It is attributed in the Summary Catalogue to an Oxford man and dated *circa* 1680. The transcriber has dated some of the poems, and the latest date so given is 1676.

On p. 190 the first satire on the *British Princes* is attributed to "Ch. B. now E. Dorsett." The date of the transcript may then be put some time, probably soon after, Buckhurst's succession to the title in 1677. The transcriber was no doubt a minor wit who collected interesting occasional verses and pieces of contemporary interest for satirical or other reasons. This book has so homogeneous an appearance in its calligraphy and ink as to suggest it was written out in a comparatively short time from another copy or copies. Few of the poems are likely to be taken from the author's original MS.

The nine satires on the *British Princes* are on pp. 190-197, and are attributed to Buckhurst, Waller, Sprat, Dryden, Clifford, Shadwell, L. Vaughan, Rochester and Buckingham.

In addition to those of Dryden and Rochester already mentioned, the first of the nine may also be found elsewhere : two manuscript copies of it exist in the British Museum, both attributed to Buckhurst : one—MS. 18220 (9.23) f. 53, verso—has the note appended "Communicated à Dr. Sim. Patrick, Sept. 6, 1669." Dr. Patrick was Rector of St. Paul's.

The satirists were apparently ready with their shafts very soon after the publication of Howard's Epic.

The sixth of the poems has not, so far as I can discover, been noticed hitherto. There seems no reason to suspect its ascription to Shadwell, who had close associations at this time with several others of the group, notably Dorset, Dryden, Rochester and Buckingham, and had already created a stir by his satirical portrait of the

poet as Poet Ninny, and his cousin, Sir Robert Howard, as Sir Positive At-All, in *The Sullen Lovers*. The poem is in his rather lumbering vein, though any ascription on grounds of style alone would be unjustifiable.

[MS. Eng. Poet e. 4 (Bodleian).]

[Pages 195-196.]

ON THE BRITISH PRINCES

6

In Imitation of his most excellent Style

Of all great Nature *fated* vnto witt,
 None ere deserv'd to be so *laurel'd* yet,
 Which fame by *Trophying* many a Poets name
 Who late have wrot, was certainly to blame :
 For some Men which for Witt *historied* be,
 Instead of Laurel should have Ignomy.
 For none did er'e like this his Poem treat
 Brave British Actions, Heroes too so great ;
 Of armed Chariots which do *mow* their way
 Through Romans, who would *bid* them to obey.
 Of hosts *Captain'd* by *Sceptred* Princes tell
 And *beautied* Queen who did more than excell ;
 All that fame which renown has *blaz'd* so high
 For *courag'd* mind as well as *beaming* Eye,
 Bonduca *call*, so chast too there was she
 Should Cæsar himself *Pander* a Victory,
 So to enjoy her his labour would be lost,
 Ennius, Alvatix knew this to their cost :
 Nor did Albianus or Vortiger
 Less bravely, when their *Armies* they did wear.
 When Gaul and Roman Powers did *campaign*
 As Seas lead *battled* billows o're a Plain.
 He makes Welch Heroes lead their forces on,
 And break the Foe though *ribb'd* with Iron,
 So stout, as who orecame them sure must be,
 As Mars is, *Templed* too as well as he.
 Since stoutest Actions they may well compare,
 Their conduct too is Soul of British Warr :
 For there is nothing that can *faint* their might
 For they in bloody *mingles* fight by night
 This he relates, and in such warlike dress,
 None but an Hero can such Flame express ;
 Creating Actions by his glorious skill
 That never can be done, nay never will.
 He makes the Starrs and Planets by his Power,
 To talk to one another every hour ;
 Not by their Tongues, but mingling each a Ray
 He makes them to converse, as well they may ;
 And by the plain Expression of their beams,
 Each Planet knows what th'other Starr but dreams.
 Such is the Power, and Salt, and Flame we find,
 That justify great Nature in his Mind.

[His Grammar
Connexion Words.][His Arguing,
Of still left out.
[Abrupt transitions.]

[Grammar Words.]

(Page 196)

And if we weigh the manage of the . . .
 The thorough Genius that each line doth speak ;
 The Turns of *Witt*, the Windings of the Plot [gy. warr.
 Of this Heroick Poem, and what not
 We see, that not like new-made Pilot, he
 Did rashly steer an vnacquainted sea ;
 Nor went beyond his Knowledge, and we must
 Judge that this book will be a lasting dust.

Tho. Shadwell.

That the transcriber was using a copy and not the original may be inferred from his proposed emendation of "witt" to "warr," and from his omission of a rhyming word. It seems probable that this is the only existing text of the poem.

A. J. BULL.

A CAVEAT ON RESTORATION PLAY QUARTOS

In his *Introduction to Bibliography* Mr. R. B. McKerrow points out that, although the tendency of the seventeenth-century title-page was toward greater decorum and auctorial authenticity, it was customarily set up after the text itself had been composed. A divergence from the running title normally indicates therefore a correction, in a Restoration work presumably but not necessarily by the author. In such a case the title-page is usually printed with other preliminary material, the whole forming a sheet quite separate from the sheets on which the text is printed. Thus in John Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* (London, 1680), the title-page appears on sig. [A recto], [A verso] is blank, [A2 recto] contains the prologue, [A2 verso] gives the *dramatis personæ*, and the first signature, "B," is on recto of the leaf following, which provides the first page of the text. B verso is unsigned, as are the six remaining pages previous to sig. C, except B2 recto, other signatures proceeding consistently through [K4 verso]. The title-page of this quarto gives the title as above, but the running head throughout reads, not *Misery*, but *Miseries*. Despite this inconsistency, Q 1680 seems in every respect normal.

Bibliographies and library catalogues list a second edition of this play in the following year, with a new title, *Henry the Sixth, The Second Part. Or the Misery of Civil War*. Now, if the bibliographical explanation of the discrepancy between the title-page and the running head of the first edition is correct, why does the publisher fail to correct the latter? For in this quarto of 1681 the same

discrepancy is repeated. Does this fact invalidate the description of Q 1680 as normal? By no means. A rather careful examination (though short of actual collation of the entire text) makes clear that Q 1681 is not a second edition at all, but a reissue of the sheets of 1680, with a new title-page. A modern printer would of course print the new title-page and on the same sheet reprint the other preliminaries; but such were paper and labour costs in the seventeenth century that the unsigned sheet was cut, leaf [A2] being retained and the new leaf [A] being printed separately. That this was done seems certain, because (1) the material on both sides of [A2] is from the same types in both quartos, and (2) the chain marks in the paper of [A] and [A2] in 1680 match,¹ while in 1681 they do not.

Are these matters, of obvious interest to the bibliographer, too picayunish to warrant the attention of the literary student? Suppose that Q 1681 were really a second edition. We should conclude that "little starched Johnny Crowne" had made rather a hit with his political adaptation of ii and iii *Henry VI*. Whatever its reception on the stage, a reasonable success with the reading public would seem certain. Now we see that precisely the opposite thing happened. The first quarto (1680) fell flat. In the following year Crowne produced and published *Henry the Sixth, The First Part*. An attempt was made to dispose of the remainder sheets of 1680 by providing a new title linking the two pieces.

To what extent other seventeenth-century play quartos are masquerading as second or later editions I do not know.² The student should test those he works on by Mr. McKerrow's checks. The retention of an inconsistent feature, such as variant titles, should make him immediately suspicious.

HAZELTON SPENCER.

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AN UNRECORDED PLAY-TITLE

"THE French Beau: A Comedy, Acted by His Majesty's Servants,
At The New Theatre in *Little-Lincolns-Inn-Fields*. London,

¹ For this observation I am indebted to Mr. George P. Winship, with whose bibliographical scholarship and cheerfulness in lending it those who resort to the Treasure Room of Harvard's library are familiar.

² Since writing this note I have found that Q 1691 of Nahum Tate's *The Sicilian Usurper* (an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Richard II*) is not a second edition but a reissue, with a new title-page, of the sheets of 1681.

Printed for *William Brown*, Stationer, at the *Ink-Bottle* near *St. James's* (where you may be furnished with most new Plays, and all manner of Stationary Wares. And Sold by *John Nutt*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1699." does not, as far as I have been able to discover, appear in any printed list of seventeenth-century plays. Difficult as it is to recollect the "plots" and the names of the persons of post-Restoration pieces, it did not occur to the writer when he found one with this title that it was likely to be entirely unknown, and a brief search established its identity. A few words, which could easily be multiplied by the not-irrelevant introduction of the names of Congreve and others, may perhaps be permitted by way of explanation.

In 1697 Mrs. Pix, "the fat poetess," brought to the Drury Lane playhouse the MS. of her play *The Deceiver Deceived*, and, according to the statement of George Powell, the actor, begged him to use his influence to get it accepted for acting. In this, if one may believe him, he had succeeded, when the lady, to quote his own words, "very mannerly carry'd it to the other House;" before, however, it could make its appearance there, another play, *The Imposture Defeated: Or, A Trick to cheat the Devil*, of which the said George Powell professed himself the author, was brought out at Drury Lane: later, *The Deceiver Deceived* was played at the theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn-Fields. In Mrs. Pix's play, the scene of which is in Venice, the principal character, played by Betterton, is "Seignior Melito Bondi, A Senator of Venice" who, in order to escape appointment to the "chargable Post" of President of Dalmatia, affects to be blind, and part of the action turns upon his supposed infirmity; in Powell's, though the scene is still in or about Venice, Bondi has become "Mr. Bond," who having adopted the same device for precisely the same reason, to avoid office in Dalmatia, is subjected to very much the same trying experiences. *The Imposture Defeated* was advertised as "This Day" published in the *Post-boy* for November 16-18, 1697, and there is a similar announcement of *The Deceiver Deceived* in the same paper for December 18-21 following. Mrs. Pix in her Prologue complains

Our Authoress, like true Women (*sic*), shew'd her Play
To some, who like true Wits, stole't half away.,

and Powell in his Epistle to the Reader acknowledges that "the Publick Cry is loud upon that subject" (his alleged plagiarism), but protests that he had the hint of the pretended blind man from a

novel (which he does not name), that he had never read Mrs. Pix's play (for which he had been, as he says, "at her request a solicitor to the company to get it acted") and finally, that if he had "really taken the character from her he had done her no more than a piece of Justice."

It is said that *The Deceiver Deceived* was not a success upon the stage, and one suspects that it fared no better in print, for it is as a new title to it that *The French Beau* came into existence. New titles are, of course, familiar expedients for getting rid of unsaleable stocks of printed matter, but the re-dressing in this case is rather more extensive and, as it seems to me, somewhat difficult of explanation. Not only was the title-page of *The Deceiver Deceived* cancelled but the three succeeding leaves, containing the dedication, a prologue, spoken by Bowen, two "Dialogues," for music, by Durfey and Motteux and the "Persons Represented," were similarly treated. For them were substituted the new title, as above, and one other leaf only, on the *recto* of which is an entirely different prologue, "Spoken by a Beau," and on the *verso* "Persons Represented," containing the names of three additional actors, and in several cases different descriptions of the characters, while at the bottom of the same page is "*Scene Tunbridge.*" although the text, the original print, immediately follows. If this new title is to be depended upon, the play must have been actually revived on the stage, but it seems almost impossible to suppose that at the theatre at which it was originally produced, and while the authoress was still alive, a prologue containing this unmannerly reference to her personal appearance, not, I am afraid, without parallels to be found elsewhere, can have been spoken—

*At least the Female-writers ought to spare
The Beau, as being the Darling of the Fair.
This, I am sure, our Poetess to be
That lovely Thing but in Effigie,
Would strip off twenty Winters for that pleasure,
And melt down twice as many Pounds she has above Beau-measure.*

G. T.-D.

ATTACKS ON DEFOE IN UNION PAMPHLETS

DEFOE's writings on the Union between England and Scotland called forth some vigorous protests from Scotch Anti-Union sympathisers. That Defoe was at times a thorn in the flesh of the anti-

union faction has long been known. But there is still lacking in the writings on this period of Defoe's career the very lively and aggressive nature of the struggle. I am of the opinion that the few facts that I have recently secured through a careful reading of the Union Pamphlets at the National Library of Scotland will, in a measure, reveal something of these spirited journalistic battles as well as the straightforward thrusts which his Scotch opponents levelled at him.

William Black, in a reply to Defoe's "Fourth Essay at Removing National Prejudices," exposed the illogical and superficial character of Defoe's argument.

I shall not trouble you with this gentleman's politics only would entreat he would take that advice he has offered to others; to make no assertions but what may be justified; no calculations but what will bear to be examined; to make no suggestions but what are probable; nor estimates but what are natural, lest he deserve the character he has rashly given to others of being ignorant and extravagant.¹

Dugald Campbell, in more robust and defiant language, after styling Defoe as one "who patronised not the best cause, but the wealthiest client," advised him to cease meddling in Scotch affairs.

I must beg pardon that a stranger (whoever he be) that presumes thus flatly to contradict our known laws and fundamental constitution as explained by our greatest and wisest lawyers is meddling with what he is unconcerned in. He has been told again and again that Sir George MacKenzie and Sir John Nisbet have both asserted that a union of this nature cannot be effected without the consent of every single Scotsman.²

Still another pamphleteer in terms equally contemptuous ridicules Defoe's learning:

If Mr. D. F. shall give a reply to this paper the only favor I desire of him is to go first to the University and learn the art of close reasoning, for I sincerely declare without bias or resentment he overmatcheth all men I ever knew (except I. R. L.) in running down solid argument with a crowd of words that are nothing to the purpose—and if he go on hectoring and bullying it out with an air of unaccountable assurance, I shall never think it worth my while to give him a return.³

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¹ "A Letter Concerning the Remarks upon the Considerations of Trade" by the author of the "Fourth Essay at Removing National Prejudices." 1706.

² A reply to the authors of the "Advantages of Scotland by an Incorporate Union" and of the "Fifth Essay at Removing National Prejudices." 1707.

³ "The Author of the Lawful Prejudices against the Union defended against the attack of D.F." 1707.

THE INFLUENCE OF MAURICE MORGANN

DR. A. C. Bradley was, I believe, the first critic of the present age to draw attention to the importance of Maurice Morgann's *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*.¹ The *Essay*, first published in 1777, provoked the ridicule of Dr. Johnson, who could not take seriously the conclusion that Falstaff was no coward.² Two subsequent editions, the first appearing in 1820 and the second in 1825, satisfied the demand for the work during the last century. In his Oxford lecture Professor Bradley paid it the high compliment of saying that he would have refrained from discussing the subject of Falstaff's cowardice if Morgann's work had been better known; and, in publishing his lecture, seven years later, he appended a short account of it in the form of a note, "for the benefit of readers unacquainted with Morgann's essay." The fact that the work was republished by Professor Nichol Smith in his *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare* (1903), and again in his *Shakespeare Criticism* (1916), may be taken as a satisfactory sign that Morgann is emerging from obscurity. How complete that obscurity has been is sufficiently indicated by the absence of his name from Professor Saintsbury's *History of English Criticism* and (if the index may be trusted) from the *Cambridge History of English Literature*.

The object of this note, however, is not to sound the praises of the essay but to suggest the possibility that it may, in one direction, have exerted an influence which has not been recognised. In the Introduction to his *Shakespeare Criticism* Professor Nichol Smith expresses a widespread and probably universal belief when he says, referring to Coleridge and Hazlitt: "Forty years were to pass before they gave us the new criticism in all its strength, and they, to their loss, did not know Morgann." Morgann is thus represented as an isolated figure, anticipating, by a happy inspiration, some of the conclusions which the greater minds of the succeeding age were to reach independently. I should like to offer a small piece of evidence calculated to throw doubt on the justice of that view. Perhaps it

¹ In his lecture on *The Rejection of Falstaff*, published in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (1909). The date of the lecture is given as 1902.

² "Why, Sir, we shall have the man come forth again; and as he has proved Falstaff to be no coward, he may prove Iago to be a very good character" (Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. iii, p. 9, in Fitzgerald's edition, 1924). Swinburne, in his *Study of Shakespeare* (1879), quotes this remark with the observation that it is "as good a jest and as bad a criticism as might have been expected." Swinburne's praise of the essay seems to have failed to revive interest in it among his contemporaries.

is not conclusive, but it may be sufficient to encourage other investigators to pursue the inquiry.

In the *Review of English Studies* for October 1928, it was shown that a long passage in Hazlitt's study of "Mr. Gifford" in the *Spirit of the Age* was copied almost *verbatim* from the review of *Spence's Anecdotes* appearing in the *Edinburgh Review* for May 1820: a fact from which it is to be inferred that Hazlitt himself was the reviewer.¹ In that article Hazlitt (if the identification is to be allowed) displays great interest in the character of Sir Godfrey Kneller, of whom he says:

He belonged to a very common class of characters, which has not been very commonly understood—persons who are accessory to the ridicule thrown upon themselves, and play off their own follies in society as they might caricature an imaginary character upon the stage—who are at once "the butt and the wit, the jester and the jest."

In other words—whether the thought was actually present to Hazlitt's mind or not—there is a close resemblance between Sir Godfrey Kneller as depicted by Spence and Falstaff as interpreted by Morgann. That Hazlitt was conscious of this resemblance is a probability which is greatly strengthened by the words in inverted commas. What is the source of the quotation, "the butt and the wit, the jester and the jest"? Remembering that Hazlitt allowed himself entire freedom to adapt or abbreviate quotations at his pleasure, I suggest the following words of Morgann:

And thus, at last, mixing youth and age, enterprise and corpulency, wit and folly, poverty and expense, . . . a butt and a wit, a humourist and a man of humour, a touchstone and a laughing stock, a jester and a jest, has Sir John Falstaff, taken at this period of his life in which we see him, become the most perfect Comic character that perhaps ever was exhibited.

This exhausts the only real evidence which I can offer; but I am tempted to add the conjecture that Hazlitt was inspired by recollections of the same passage in Morgann as early as 1818, when he used these words in his introductory lecture on the *English Comic Writers*:

¹ It might have been mentioned, as additional evidence, that the writer refers, incorrectly, to "Sir Isaac Newton's verses to his dog Tray," the true name of Newton's celebrated dog being "Diamond." Hazlitt makes the same mistake in his essay *On Great and Little Things*, representing Sir Isaac as saying to the dog, "Ah! Tray, you don't know the mischief you have done."

This kind of wit of the humourist, where the person makes a butt of himself, and exhibits his own absurdities or foibles purposely in the most pointed and glowing lights, runs through the whole of the character of Falstaff, and is, in truth, the principle on which it is founded.

If that conjecture could be strengthened, we should be on the way to the discovery that Hazlitt knew Morgann's essay in the original edition of 1777,¹ no other edition having appeared at the time when he was lecturing. The possibility would then arise that he might have known it all his life, and even have discussed it with Coleridge, whose estimate of Falstaff's qualities is not essentially different from his own. In that case Morgann would emerge, not as the uncertain and shadowy precursor, but as the prophet and founder, of that school of subjective criticism of which Hazlitt and Coleridge are the principal exponents, and of which De Quincey's essay on *The Knocking in Macbeth* is, probably, the finest product.

P. L. CARVER.

¹ That conclusion is not fully established by the evidence cited from the review of Spence, which, it will be remembered, belongs to the same year (1820) as the second edition of Morgann. At the time and place of writing I have no means of ascertaining in what month of the year the latter publication made its appearance. If it was before the end of April the possibility will remain, in spite of the fact that he appears to quote from it in the review of Spence, that Hazlitt may have been unacquainted with the essay until its reappearance at that time. In considering this point we should not be justified in allowing for any considerable interval between the date of composition of the review of Spence and the date of its appearance in print. Jeffrey is known to have been short of manuscripts at this time, and to have published those which he accepted with alacrity. Moreover, there are several signs that the printer did his work in haste: among which it may be noticed that he runs together a series of extracts from Spence and the reviewer's original comments on those extracts, making one continuous paragraph of small type. Many of Hazlitt's essays were written while the printer's devil waited at the door, and this may have been one of them.

REVIEWS

Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III. By PETER ALEXANDER. With an Introduction by ALFRED W. POLLARD. Cambridge University Press. 1929. Pp. 229. 8s. 6d.

THIS book of Mr. Alexander's well deserves a place in the valuable series of "Shakespeare Problems" edited by Messrs. A. W. Pollard and J. Dover Wilson, which already contains *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* and *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*. To this third volume of the series Professor Pollard contributes an admirable introduction, in which, while differing from the author on certain minor points, he endorses his conclusions in regard to the main problems with which the book is concerned, the authorship of the *Henry VI* plays, and the relationship between the folio versions of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and the previously printed quarto versions (*The First Part of the Contention* and *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*) and between the folio and quarto texts of *Richard III*.

Mr. Alexander first discusses, and rejects, the theory propounded by Malone that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* are revised versions by Shakespeare and others, of the two earlier texts of these plays preserved in *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*, printed in 1594 and 1595 respectively, and by Malone attributed to Marlowe, Greene and Peele. There is, it must be admitted, scarcely a shred of external evidence to support this theory. It has been urged that it is supported by the passage in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* in which Greene, addressing his fellow-dramatists, speaks of Shakespeare as "an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you." The "*Tyger's hart wrapt in a Player's hyde*" being a misquotation of a line in 3 *Henry VI*, it has been thought that Shakespeare is here taunted with having plagiarised from the works of Greene and others. But, says Mr. Alexander, Greene's words imply no charge of plagiarism. The whole passage is directed against the players ("those Puppets that spake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours") who gained profit and applause which rightly

belonged to the dramatist, and Greene is incensed against Shakespeare merely because he is an actor who, not content to masquerade in borrowed plumage, ventures to write plays himself. The arguments for this interpretation have never before been so convincingly put, and it does indeed seem highly probable that the words "beautified with our feathers" mean nothing more than "acting in our plays." But to suggest, as Mr. Alexander does, that the passage is not reasonably capable of any other construction—that it *cannot* imply any charge of plagiarism—seems to me to go too far, and, notwithstanding all his arguments, it still seems difficult to account for Greene's animus against Shakespeare as being due merely to the fact that Shakespeare was an actor who had been presumptuous enough to write plays in competition with him and with his friends Marlowe and Peele. The inference that Shakespeare is accused of plagiarism at least derives support from one contemporary writer, R. B., the author of *Greenes Funeralls*, who says that

Greene gave the ground to all that wrote upon him,
Nay more, the men that so eclipsed his fame
Purloynde his plumes, can they deny the same?

Professor Pollard dismisses this with the remark that R. B. also misinterpreted the passage in the *Groatsworth of Wit*. But what reason is there to suppose that his lines have any reference to that passage? One would judge that R. B. is speaking from his own knowledge, and his confident challenge to Greene's rivals to deny that they had borrowed from his works surely shows that the fact that they had done so was notorious.

Contrary to the common belief that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* are improved versions by Shakespeare and others of *The First Part of the Contention* and *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, Mr. Alexander holds that they are the originals of those plays, and that *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* are in fact nothing but pirated versions, "bad quartos," of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* reconstructed partly from memory, partly with the aid of fragmentary transcripts. So far as memorial reconstruction is concerned he gives us a most convincing illustration of this in a comparison of Act II, sc. ii of 2 *Henry VI* with the corresponding scene of *The Contention* in which the Duke of York seeks to establish his right to the Crown as being a more direct descendant of Edward III than Henry, the details of the Duke's pedigree given in the quarto, hopelessly confused and inaccurate as they are, obviously presenting a mangled

version of the folio text. He also clearly shows that most of the material of the pirated texts must have been supplied by two of the actors who had played in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, one of whom impersonated Warwick and the other Suffolk and Clifford, since it is in the scenes in which these characters figure that, generally speaking, the texts of the folio and quartos most closely agree. The copy for *The Contention* cannot, however, consist entirely of reported matter, for there are certain portions of 2 *Henry VI* (as, for instance, Act II, sc. iii, and Act IV, sc. v) in which folio and quarto are, even to the stage-directions, all but word for word the same, and here Mr. Alexander argues that the compilers of the quarto had some manuscript at their disposal. "The actors," he says, "had in their possession certain manuscripts, or portions of them, and they were no doubt helped in places by some of their fellows; but what they chiefly relied on was the memory, sometimes the possession, of their own parts, and the recollection of the plays as a whole that remained with them from frequent rehearsals and performances."

Mr. Alexander next discusses the Marlowe parallels in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and the quarto versions of these plays, and particularly the parallels between them and Marlowe's *Edward II*. These Marlowe parallels must be distinguished, some of them being peculiar to the quartos while others appear also in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. The latter must be attributable to the author or authors of the original plays, while the former are "recollections" by the actors of lines from other plays in which they had performed. Thus, according to Mr. Alexander, the actors who cobbled up the texts of *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* not only occasionally "transferred lines from scene to scene and part to part," but "borrowed lines and expressions from other plays with which they were familiar." It is here that one may well feel some doubt whether Mr. Alexander's conjecture as to the method in which *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* were composed can be regarded as wholly satisfactory. The actors must have been singularly clever fellows—they must have been possessed of a greater degree of literary skill than one would expect—if they could have built up the texts of these plays in the manner he suggests. Must not some professional dramatist—who might also, of course (like Wilson, Armin, Field and many others, including Shakespeare himself) have been an actor—have had a final hand in the manufacture of these texts? However this may be, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Alexander has

demonstrated that these quartos are in the main reconstructions of plays substantially identical with 2 and 3 *Henry VI* of the folio.

His theory is not, however, new. Though he could hardly be expected to be familiar with all that has been written about these plays by previous critics, it is at least strange that he should never have read Miss Jane Lee's well-known essay *On the Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI and their Originals*.¹ Had he done so he would have found that, like himself, Thomas Kenny (author of *The Life and Genius of Shakespeare*) held *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* to be "copies of *Henry VI*, surreptitiously obtained and made up partly from memory, partly from notes." I have looked up Kenny's book (which was published so long ago as 1864) and find that more than a third of it is devoted to the three parts of *Henry VI*. He, too, quotes the "pedigree" lines of the Duke of York in 2 *Henry VI* and juxtaposes the equivalent passage from *The Contention* to show that the latter must have emanated from "an ignorant and bewildered copyist, vainly attempting to recall the language of an imperfectly known model," and concludes that it is "not at all impossible that some of the actors in the original dramas may have been tempted to aid in furnishing more complete versions of the parts they had sustained, or even that more or less imperfect playhouse copies may have been used" in the construction of the quarto texts, which, he says, "exhibit a literary power and a literary incapacity which could not . . . co-exist in one and the same mind" and manifestly present "mere mutilated copies of Shakespeare's genius." His whole essay is extremely acute and well reasoned, and it is remarkable to find how closely his views correspond with those put forward by Mr. Alexander.

The establishment of this relationship between the folio and quarto texts certainly does not, as Mr. Alexander seems to suppose, prove that the plays as printed in the folio are Shakespeare's unaided work. He will have it that the mere fact that Heminge and Condell included them in their collection is conclusive evidence that Shakespeare wrote them.² Does he then believe *Henry VIII* and *Timon of Athens* to be entirely Shakespeare's? "We are entitled," he says, "to demand from any critic who ascribes parts and plays in

¹ Printed in *New Shaks. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-1876.

² He even asserts (p. 143) that "Greene as well as Heminge and Condell thought 3 *Henry VI* by Shakespeare." This is quite unjustifiable. The most that can be claimed for the passage in the *Groatsworth of Wit* is that it shows that Greene believed Shakespeare to have had a hand in the play.

the Folio to other dramatists than Shakespeare, unequivocal evidence for his opinion." Since he, like many others, has no belief in the possibility of determining questions of authorship on internal evidence, this "unequivocal evidence" must apparently be external evidence, and that, I am afraid, we shall never get. If he had paid any attention to the differences of literary style observable in certain of the plays included in the folio, his confidence in the infallibility of Heminge and Condell would perhaps be less than it is. At any rate, notwithstanding the force and skill with which he has presented his arguments, there will, I think, still be many who will refuse to subscribe to his statement that "we need now have no hesitation in attributing 2 and 3 *Henry VI* to Shakespeare himself." Professor Pollard, more cautious than Mr. Alexander, "cannot regard the inclusion of 1-3 *Henry VI* and *Richard III* in the Folio as implying any personal guarantee by Heminge and Condell that they were each and all the unaided work of Shakespeare"; to him it does not seem in the least probable that the editors of the Folio would have "seriously considered the exclusion of plays" from their edition "because someone besides Shakespeare may have had a hand in them." He leans to the view that Shakespeare wrote 1 *Henry VI* in collaboration with Peele, which seems to me by no means unlikely, for the style of that play is in places extraordinarily like Peele's. The same remark applies, I think, not only to *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*, but also in a less degree to 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. Mr. Alexander's theory as to the origin of the texts of the quarto versions affords, perhaps, a satisfactory explanation of the many Marlowe parallels, though this seems to me to be open to doubt. But the Marlowe parallels do not stand alone. There is in *The Contention* one very interesting parallel with a play of Peele's which seems hitherto to have escaped notice. In the part of that play corresponding with iv, viii of 2 *Henry VI*, Clifford's first speech to the rebels (differing entirely from that given in the folio) ends with the words:

If honour be the marke whereat you aime
Then haste to France that our forefathers wonne,
And winne again the thing which now is lost,
And leave to seeke your Countries overthrow.

Compare the lines in King Sebastian's speech in *The Battle of Alcazar*, II, iv:

If honour be the marke whereat thou aimst
Then followe me in holy Christian warres,
And leave to seeke thy Countries overthrow.

It may be that here again we have in *The Contention* an actor's "recollection" of the part he had played in Peele's play. But Clifford's whole speech, exactly appropriate to its context, is in Peele's manner, and Peele was wont to repeat himself after this fashion.

There is no space here to deal with the many matters not strictly concerned with *Henry VI* or *Richard III* discussed by Mr. Alexander in this very interesting book. Of these perhaps the most important is the tradition recorded by Aubrey that Shakespeare "had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the country." This Mr. Alexander has no hesitation in accepting, since Aubrey, who was "a very industrious and careful inquirer," gives "Mr. Beeston" as the authority from whom his information was derived. William Beeston was the son of Christopher Beeston, and Christopher Beeston was one of Shakespeare's associates from 1594 to 1602. These facts no doubt entitle this tradition to more respectful consideration than it has usually received. In default, however, of some sort of corroboration scarcely more can be said of it, especially as Aubrey elsewhere says that Shakespeare's father was a butcher, and that he had been "told heretofore by some of the neighbours" that when Shakespeare was a boy "he exercised his father's trade, but when he killd a calfe he would doe it in a high style, and make a speech." The first statement is undoubtedly incorrect; it is known that Shakespeare's father was a glover, not a butcher. Mr. Alexander says that this (as well as the further information that Shakespeare for a time exercised his father's trade) was obtained by Aubrey from "some of the neighbours" during a visit to Stratford, and so dismisses it as idle country gossip. But Aubrey does not say that the neighbours had informed him that Shakespeare's father was a butcher, he states it as a fact, and as elsewhere he records that Beeston had told him that Shakespeare had in his younger years been a schoolmaster in the country, there is surely good reason for distrusting the accuracy of both statements. The late Dr. John Smart was perhaps justified in saying (*Shakespeare; Truth and Tradition*) that in the statement said to have been made on Beeston's authority we have the best supported and most credible of the traditions concerning Shakespeare's early life, but is this sufficient to warrant Mr. Alexander in heading one of the chapters of his book: "The Early Plays of the Schoolmaster from the Country"? The fact that some of Shakespeare's earlier plays

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show a considerable knowledge of the works of classical authors and contain many classical quotations, allusions and borrowings cannot be regarded as of any value as corroborative evidence of the truth of the Aubrey-Beeston tradition, for the same may be said of the plays of Marlowe, Kyd, Greene and Peele.

Thomas Kenny's anticipation of Mr. Alexander's theory as to the relation of the quarto to the folio texts of the *Henry VI* plays, to which I have referred above, does not, of course, detract from the value of Mr. Alexander's work, the importance of which it would be difficult to overrate. Few will be likely to dissent from Professor Pollard's pronouncement that he has here given us "the best contribution to his subject that has yet been made." As for Professor Pollard's own share in the book, praise of this is perhaps superfluous. All that need be said is that the introduction is written with his usual skill and impartiality and, as one would expect, shows a thorough comprehension of the difficulties of a very complicated problem.

H. DUGDALE SYKES.

The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon. Edited by F. P. MAGOUN, Jr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1929. Pp. x+261. 16s.

PROFESSOR MAGOUN has produced new editions of the alliterative Alexander fragments, commonly known as Alexander A and Alexander B, which have not been edited since Skeat printed them for the Early English Text Society in 1867 and 1878.

In his introduction, Professor Magoun gives a careful account of the manuscripts of these two fragments. MS. Greaves 60, in which the A fragment is found, is interesting because the scribe, who wrote about 1600, glossed certain words which evidently struck him as peculiar and underlined others which were probably obsolete or dialectal in his day. (Skeat commented on the underlinings but not on the glosses.) In his text of both fragments Professor Magoun keeps close to the manuscripts, only emending where the origin of an error seems explicable. He has as a rule not included the words supplied by Skeat in place of missing ones, but he comments on Skeat's conjectures in his notes. The text is more readable than Skeat's because it is not disfigured by italics indicating abbreviations in the manuscripts.

Some passages in fragment A are fairly free renderings of parts of Orosius's *Historia aduersum Paganos*, and those parts of Orosius are printed at the foot of the relevant passages. Similarly, appropriate passages from Cod. Monac. Lat. 824 (a manuscript of the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*) have been placed at the foot of legendary portions of both poems.

Almost half Professor Magoun's introduction is occupied by an account of the Alexander documents derived wholly or in part from the romance of the anonymous writer known as Pseudo-Callisthenes, and by a discussion of which, among these documents, are the exact sources of the two fragments. The writer has searched through an immense amount of material and attempts, with some success, to produce order in this chaos. It is exceedingly convenient to have in one volume reference to a mass of writings hitherto scattered in many books and periodicals. Most of this part of his introduction is naturally not original, but gives a résumé of other people's work. (It would be a superhuman task to read all the different documents in all the languages in which they were written and to classify them.) The criticism may perhaps be made that Professor Magoun accepts too meekly the theories (as well as proved facts) put forward by scholars. For instance, he accepts the existence of a (non-extant) J^{3a}-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, belief in which depends on supposed reminiscences or translations from it in the *Gesta Herewardi*, the *Wars of Alexander* and the *Thornton Prose Life of Alexander*. The theory of its existence was formulated by G. L. Hamilton in *Speculum II* (1927), and reference to his article will show that his web of proof is often a thin one.

In his discussion of the dialect of the fragments, Professor Magoun states that he agrees with some other scholars in assigning them to Gloucestershire, but he points out that no views hitherto advanced have been accompanied by a detailed study of the "dialectal criteria." This he proceeds to supply, examining both fragments with regard to features characteristic of the South-Western and West Midland dialects. Finally, he records certain features which are definitely not characteristic of these areas and which he believes are due to the scribal transmission. Fragment A, on this evidence, is found to have passed through the hands of a Northern scribe before it was copied by the Elizabethan scribe whose work we possess. This Elizabethan scribe himself added a strong colouring of contemporary spellings and grammatical forms. Frag-

ment B, on the other hand, has suffered little at the hands of scribes, and all that can be detected is the introduction of certain fifteenth-century spellings—probably the work of the scribe of the extant manuscript.

Professor Magoun does not think it possible to date the fragments more closely than 1340–1370.

On the problem of authorship he states definitely that the author of Alexander A was not that of Alexander B. Beyond the similarity of dialect and the fact that the two fragments date from approximately the same time, there is no evidence in favour of a single author; on the whole, in diction, style and metre (all of which are fully discussed) the fragments are dissimilar. There are, however, a few rare words, noted by Trautmann, which are common to both, and while these do not preclude belief in two quite distinct poems, yet perhaps they are better explained by the theory that Alexander B is "part of a continuation of the no longer extant poem of which Alexander A is the beginning." A continuator would naturally know the turns of phrase of his predecessor and might occasionally introduce them.

Some readers will look for a discussion of the literary and human interest of the Alexander romances and of these fragments in particular, but this does not fall within Professor Magoun's ken. He dismisses this aspect of the fragments with the statement that they are "of trifling literary merit." This one may agree to, but they do possess a certain interest for the student of mediæval life, and this is indicated neither in the introduction nor in the notes. The careful description of the ring given in fragment A (lines 829–834) forms part of a passage on which the comment is "Elaboration by the poet."

In spite of the fact that this interest is not recognised, and in spite of the omission of a glossary, the book, as far as it goes, may be recommended as a thoroughly workmanlike and useful edition.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

Valentine and Orson: A Study in Late Mediæval Romance.

By ARTHUR DICKSON. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. vii+309. 17s. 6d.

The title of this book is a little misleading. It does not indicate, as one would suppose, a study of the English romance *Valentine and*

Orson ; the book is an attempt to trace the story of Valentine and his brother back to its earliest sources, and to illustrate, by the way, the methods of writers of mediæval romance. The versions of the story that are most valuable for analysis do not include the English romance, which is hardly mentioned except in appendices ; Professor Dickson concentrates here on the French prose *Valentin et Orson* (printed in 1489) and the Middle-Low German verse romance *Valentin und Namelos*, together with the closely related versions in Old Swedish, Middle-High German and Middle-Dutch (fragments only). Professor Dickson explains that his work was begun as part of the introduction to a proposed edition of the English romance, but the material collected for the study of the sources of its French original grew " to the dimensions of a book." Probably this explains his title.

The author begins by demonstrating the similarity between the French romance and the M.L.G. version, and he accepts G. E. Klemming's theory that both are descended from a lost French romance belonging to the early fourteenth century. He states that *Valentin und Namelos* seems to be closer to this lost version than the extant French story. His next point is that *Valentin und Namelos* is " essentially a märchen, made over into a romance " (as Seelmann in his edition of it had stated). Professor Dickson differs from Seelmann in thinking that the märchen at the back of the romance belongs to the Jealous Sisters type, the earliest recorded European form of which is found in Straparola's *Le Piacevoli Notti* (the third story of the fourth night). This märchen he regards as the main source of *Valentin und Namelos*, and he proceeds to examine the exact relationship between it and *Valentin und Namelos*, to show what parts of the latter are romantic additions and to decide whence they were derived. Finally, he compares this M.L.G. version with the French *Valentin et Orson* and attempts to determine the sources of the many romantic additions in that story.

The result of his lengthy study of the different elements in these romances is a book which brings together a vast amount of romantic and folk-tale material linked by its resemblance to the works under discussion. The industry and care that have gone into the collecting and arranging of this material deserve the fullest praise ; it is the use that is made of it that sometimes demands criticism.

Professor Dickson is not always sufficiently conscious of the difficulties that surround the search for sources in mediæval litera-

ture. The source-hunter must always bear in mind that at least as much mediæval literature must have perished as has survived to our day, and that, therefore, some similarity between two works is not enough to prove that one is the source of the other. The similarities must be very striking (usually they should include verbal resemblances) if they are to prove the case beyond doubt.

Professor Dickson's analysis often reveals undoubted borrowings; for example, he proves conclusively that the last chapter of *Valentin et Orson*, dealing with Valentin's penance and death, is pieced together from similar episodes in *Robert le Diable* and the story of St. Alexius. But in other parts of his discussion his conclusions are not so easily acceptable. On pp. 97 ff. he discusses The Birth, Exposure and Finding of Valentin and Namelos, and his conclusion (see p. 152) is that "*Eustace* or a story like it, *Octavian*, and *Maugis* were probably used by our author." The "probably" is necessitated by the fact that in none of these is the resemblance to the relevant part of *Valentin und Namelos* complete. If this is so, is it worth while suggesting even as a probability that these stories were used as sources? Are they not rather parallels illustrating the use of themes similar to those found in the romance? The distinction between such parallels and real sources is not made clearly enough in this book. In this particular instance we can probably never be sure of the exact relationship between these stories and *Valentin und Namelos*. The author (or authors) responsible for that romance may, as Professor Dickson seems to hold, have made an original combination of certain stories known to him, but there are other possibilities. He may have known a lost story which already contained such a combination, or again he may have independently invented a story (whether influenced by unconscious reminiscence or not) which happens to be similar in some details to certain other extant stories. Even though "originality" was not prized in the Middle Ages as it is now, invention was not unknown then. It is surely easier and more in accordance with probability to believe in some invention or at least some unconscious reminiscences on the part of the writer of *Valentin et Orson* than that he consciously drew on the vast list of sources displayed by Professor Dickson (pp. 266 ff.).

Such criticism may appear to be directed not against this book alone, but against the type of study to which it belongs. It is not, however, the activity of source-hunting in general which is being called in question, but the attitude of mind of the hunter. Often

the objections to Professor Dickson's conclusions would not arise if he had worded his statements differently. For example, the remark (on p. 37) that the prediction of the birth of Phila's twins and their great future "is a borrowing of the Fate motive," and on p. 151, that there are in it "suggestions perhaps from *Constant* and *Dolopathos*" would be unobjectionable if the word *use* were substituted for *borrowing*, and if, in the second instance, these two works were merely mentioned as close parallels. But the use of the phraseology objected to does imply at least a temporary forgetfulness of the difficulties pointed out above.

It may be noted that in Professor Kittredge's *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*—a model for such studies as this—there is a note on the relationship of two stories which in its restraint might stand as an example of how to treat matters of this kind. He writes (see p. 112, n. 1): "It is not maintained that the *Ider* was the source, mediate or immediate, from which the author of the French *Gawain* drew, but only that the *Ider* contains the incident in a ruder form than that in which it occurred in the French *Gawain* or its source."

In conclusion, however, Professor Dickson must be thanked for having accumulated so much relevant material that those interested may form their own judgments of the relationships between the different items in it.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

Chaucer and the Roman Poets. By EDGAR FINLEY SHANNON. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol. VII.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1929. Pp. xxii+402. 18s. net.

THIS volume will take an important place among Chaucerian studies as the first comprehensive investigation of Chaucer's indebtedness to classical Latin poetry. In addition to what has been already discovered, Professor Shannon adduces over 150 new passages for which he finds Latin sources. The main part of the book is naturally devoted to Ovid, Chaucer's "owne book," in which he was so steeped as to have, in Professor Shannon's opinion, no dependence on French translations such as the *Ovide moralisé*. Professor Shannon also makes out a good case for the identification of "Corinne," cited along with Statius by Chaucer as his authority for *Anelida and Arcite*. The *Amores* of Ovid was often known under

this name, and the same title may well have designated a volume containing other works of Ovid following on the *Amores*. For the "complaint" or non-epic part of *Anelida and Arcite* we can find no nearer model than the various complaints of the *Heroides*. From Chaucer's familiarity with these poems we may assume that his "owne book" included both the *Amores* and the *Heroides*, and hence he may well have known it under the title of "Corinne."

But in considering the classical influences on Chaucer we must not depreciate the mediæval. Chaucer departs from Virgil, both in the *House of Fame* and in the *Legend of Good Women*, by ignoring Æneas' struggle between love and duty. This is in keeping with the tone of the *Heroides*, but it is also in accordance with the conventions of chivalry and courtly love, which would never have approved a lover in deserting his lady for any political duty. The story in the *Roman de la Rose* is treated from the same point of view. Ovid was so akin to the mediæval mind that without a verbal similarity it is difficult to prove direct dependence.

A very interesting section is that on Valerius Flaccus, in whose *Argonauticon* Professor Shannon found the origin of Chaucer's location of Æolus in Thrace (*House of Fame*, l. 1572). He brings forward evidence to show that Valerius Flaccus, though practically unknown on the Continent in the Middle Ages, seems to have been better known in Britain. But he is surely too easily satisfied when he tells of a tenth-century MS. of this author which was once at the monastery of Bobbio. Since Bobbio was founded by Columbanus after he had come from Ireland to Gaul, founded several monasteries, and wandered about Europe for some years, Professor Shannon says that "the indications are pretty clear" that a MS. of Valerius Flaccus came from Britain to Bobbio, either with Columbanus or with a later party of Irish monks.

Again, the important claim he makes when he alleges the influence of Catullus in three passages, is not convincingly supported. One passage, referring to the age of Theseus, is of slight value. Another is *House of Fame*, ll. 269-85, where Chaucer lays down, apropos of Æneas, the general principle that men are deceitful and fickle in love. Ovid's heroines are content to allude to their own particular cases, but Ariadne, in Catullus LXIV, draws the general conclusion,

Jam, jam nulla viro juranti femina credat,
Nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles, etc.

It is of course possible that Chaucer reached this conclusion from

independent observation. But even if this is not so, he must have read the similar sentiments expressed by the Duenna in the *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 13139-44 (ed. Langlois),

Mais mout est fos, si Deus m'ament,
Qui pour jurer creit nul amant,
Car il ont trop les cueurs muables,
Jeunes genz ne sont point estables,
Non sont li vieil souventes feiz,
Ainz mentent sairementz e feiz,

with much more to the same effect.

The third case seems to rest on a misunderstanding of Chaucer's text. He opens the *Legend of Ariadne* with an address to Minos,

Nat for thy sake only wryte I this storie
But for to clepe agein unto memorie
Of Theseus the grete untrouthe of love :
For which the goddess of the heven above
Ben wrothe, and wreche han take for thy sinne.

Professor Shannon takes this passage to mean that "the gods were angry with Theseus for his treatment of Ariadne and took vengeance upon him for it." Only in Catullus do we read how the gods took vengeance on Theseus by causing the death of his father, through which he received the same grief which he had caused to Ariadne. "We can readily see how the poetic justice which Catullus develops would appeal to Chaucer."

But though Chaucer mentions the death of Theseus' father, he does not connect it with the perfidy of Theseus. The passage surely means that he is going to write of the treachery, not only of Minos, but also of Theseus. Such treachery angers the gods, and on Minos they have taken vengeance. Then, before he comes to his main theme, how Ariadne for the love of Theseus enabled him to thwart her father by overcoming the Minotaur, he tells how the daughter of Nisus had first betrayed her father for the love of Minos. The poetic justice in Chaucer falls on Minos and not on Theseus, and there is therefore no connection with Catullus.

MABEL DAY.

Malory. By EUGÈNE VINAVER. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1929. Pp. viii + 208. 15s. net.

DR. VINAVER has already won the attention of Arthurian students by two admirable books on the *Prose Tristan* and on the Tristan theme in Malory. The present comprehensive study of Malory

should be welcome, not merely for the actual illumination which it throws from more than one angle upon a great writer, but because its combination of marshalled research and clarity of presentation is characteristic of the best traditions of French scholarship, from which our own handling of such investigations has much to learn. The research, for only part of the details of which Dr. Vinaver has here room, has been largely devoted to the problem of Malory's relation to his sources. A notable advance is made, chiefly by the use of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale which the last systematic inquirer, Dr. Sommer, unduly disregarded. Obviously Malory had before him some form of the *Prose Lancelot* in one of its later elaborations, and this had probably been already conflated with the *Prose Tristan*. The precise form, which Dr. Vinaver does not think likely to have been more than a century older than the *Morte Darthur* itself, is not exactly represented by any known French manuscript. But Dr. Vinaver has spent great pains in determining which of the extant texts are most closely analogous to the *Morte* in its various sections, and has arrived at a reasonable constructive theory as to what the composition of the version before Malory must have been. The chief difficulties are with the Grail Quest section and the closing section known as the *Mort Artu*. As to the former, Dr. Vinaver has satisfied himself that Malory's sources must have been closely related to that of a group of French texts of which the best is *B.N. fr. 120*, and he gives in illustration a collation of Malory's Book XV with this. As to the *Mort Artu* he is less confident. But he concludes that it was probably based on a single French version, not otherwise known, into which matter properly belonging to an earlier part of the *Lancelot* had already been interpolated. Probably the English metrical *Morte Arthur* of *Harleian MS. 2252* was derived from the same source and did not directly influence Malory's rendering, with which it has much in common. It is of course admitted that for the Roman expedition in Book V, Malory abandoned the French and had resort to the English alliterative *Morte Arthur* of the *Thornton MS.* On the *Tristan* section Dr. Vinaver sums up his earlier work. For the Gareth story in Book VII he can find no French analogies. It may have been in the main source. But he makes the interesting suggestion that one important episode, the fight with the Black, Green and Red Knights, may have been introduced by Malory himself, from a historical adventure of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose follower

he had been. The finding of the immediate sources of the Gareth and part of the *Mort Artu* sections "remains the chief desideratum in the study of Malory."

The investigation of sources is dealt with in an Appendix, and the body of the book is literary criticism. Here the reaction of Malory's temper upon that of his predecessors is the theme. Behind the *Prose Lancelot* is Chrestien's poetry of *amour courtois* in an Arthurian setting.

Romance was, at its very beginning, a compound of two dissimilar elements: romantic psychology and exotic adventure. Coming from different sources they were only accidentally combined. In *Chrestien de Troyes* both enjoy equal rights, and the *matière* is largely used to support the *sen*.

The prose romances subordinated the *sen*, and deformed the structure with an "unrestrained accumulation of adventures." This is still a quality of the *Lancelot* and blurs the effect of two new themes which determine the main issues of that romance; the epic theme of the rise and fall of the Round Table, and the Cistercian theme of the nothingness of earthly chivalry as compared with the spiritual chivalry of the Grail quest. Critics have differed as to whether both themes are due to the inspiration of a common author or group of authors. Dr. Vinaver finds in them both "the product of a religious mind steeped in the doctrines of Cîteaux." I have my doubts. The Grail vision has vanished long before the *dénouement* of the *Mort Artu*, to which it does not contribute. However, our concern is with Malory. Structurally, he condenses his sources, especially in the *Lancelot* and *Tristan* sections.

The indiscriminate exaltation of adventure so typical of the French cyclic romances is foreign to him. He does not delight in lingering over episodic details, and slowly cuts a road through a jungle of interwoven digressions.

Dr. Vinaver does not find him a very skilful abridger. He often neglects important incidents while reproducing subsidiary matter, and thereby leaves obscurities in his narrative. On the whole he simplifies individual episodes better than he does the intricate linking of these. As regards temper, Dr. Vinaver will not accept the description of Malory as an "archaist." "The courtly philosophy of medieval France was to him a closed book." He tends to "transform the world's greatest love story into a *comédie larmoyante*,

drowning the tragedy of Tristan and Iseult in a flood of pitiful tears." He is a realist and indifferent to magic and the use of the supernatural. He does not understand the fundamental *motif* of the Grail Quest, and leaves it no more than "a confused and almost pointless story, a beautiful parade of symbols and bright visions." He reduces Corbenic to a province of Camelot. Much of this is, of course, true. Malory, the harrier of monasteries, was no Cistercian. But, after all, the Grail and Round Table themes were already incompatible, and it was beyond Malory or any other *remanieur* to bring them to unity. And if one calls Malory an "archaist," it is perhaps mainly for his attitude to earthly chivalry, which he clearly looks upon as an ideal of the past, and worthy of revival in the disturbed England of his own day. After all, Dr. Vinaver accepts this. "His book is an earnest endeavour to revive the moral grandeur of what he thought was 'the old custom and usage of the land.'" And if he advocated "the comfortable virtues of a righteous gentleman who 'does often the good and leaves the evil,'" rather than "a crusading chivalry raised to its highest energy by the reunion of the knightly and monastic ideals of service, love, and sacrifice," one may reply that you can be an archaist without being a Cistercian. Dr. Vinaver is, perhaps, rather critical of Malory's temper, but he has no hesitation in claiming for him "what is denied to the 'French books': the mysterious power of style—the only immortal merit in literature." He combines simplicity and elevation, and at his best a power over rhythm and sentence balance. "His language has all the strength of an oration, all the ease of a popular tale. It is traditional and fresh at the same time, and this is why it is so well fitted to its theme."

Biography is not neglected. An Appendix brings together in convenient form the material available, with some pedigrees not hitherto taken into account. I do not think that Dr. Vinaver has got quite all that is to be got from the documents discovered by Mr. Hicks, but on these I have said enough in an earlier review (*R.E.S.*, v, 465). And I find it difficult to suppose that the Thomas Malory who, according to a Northants inquisition, died on March 12, 1471, can be other than the Sir Thomas whose death on March 14 is given by a transcript from his tomb. A slight slip in the day of the month is so easy.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

Complaints. Edmund Spenser. Edited by W. L. RENWICK. The Scholartis Press. 1928. Pp. x + 273. 7s. 6d. net.

Daphnaida and Other Poems. Edmund Spenser. Edited by W. L. RENWICK. The Scholartis Press. 1929. Pp. viii + 243. 8s. 6d. net.

(Vols. I and II of Professor Renwick's edition of the Complete Works of Edmund Spenser.)

SPENSERIAN scholars are already in Professor Renwick's debt for his book on Spenser, *An Essay on Renaissance Poetry*, published in 1925. His edition of Spenser's works, of which the first two volumes are now before us, carries on the good work of placing Spenser in his literary background. Professor Renwick writes no introduction, makes no flourish, but simply provides us with a sound text and puts all he has to say into a workmanlike commentary and a few short bibliographical and textual notes.

The commentary is not too long, but the textual notes are, we suggest, too short. Of textual notes all that we ask is that they be accurate and explicit, and follow a consistent form. Professor Renwick, acting on the laudable principle of cutting down everything to a bare minimum, fails in this part of his work to be altogether clear. In the volume of *Complaints* we have to wait till the "Bibliographical Notes" end and the "Textual Notes" begin, p. 268, before we learn that the editor has based his text on the Hunterian copy of the first Quarto. In the *Daphnaida* volume the same necessary information has to be hunted for where it is embedded in the bibliographical notes on the separate publications, pp. 231, 233, 238, 241, 242. The student who wants to know what text he is reading would like this information put together in a note that he could find at once and take in at a glance. Secondly, he would like to be sure without having to turn up another edition, what authority Professor Renwick has for the readings which depart from the Quarto. Sometimes his note acknowledges the Folio, but sometimes it says nothing. Take a few examples:

(1) Note to *Tears of the Muses*, 486:

"sovenance) soverance Spenser uses *sovenance* four other times. But the Scottish *soverance*—*truce*—would make good sense, and is possible."

That is all: but the student needs to be told that the Harleian MS. reads *sovenaunce*, Quarto and Folio *soverance*.

(2) Note to *Virgil's Gnat*, 308 :

"creast-front tyre) creast front-tyre "

We should prefer to know on what authority that front-tyre is deflated.

(3) Note to *Virgil's Gnat*, 575 :

"billowes) billowe (decided by *them* in the next line) "

Again, we ought to know that Harleian MS. reads billowes.

In short, we should prefer the following form :

(1) 486 : sovenaunce Harl. MS. : soverance Q. and F.

(2) 308 : creast-front tyre F. : creast front-tyre Q.

(3) 575 : billowes Harl. MS. : billowe Q. and F.

Another misleading piece of arrangement is to be regretted. The Quarto *Complaints* prints on the verso of its title page "A note of the sundrie Poemes contained in this Volume." Professor Renwick prints this note on the recto of the page following his own table of Contents, in no relation whatever to the original title-page, which is not described till p. 263. There is no explanatory comment. It would have been better to give the original title-page with its date, 1591, in its place at the beginning. As it is, the date of publication is actually not given (though it is, of course, assumed in many discussions) till the commentary is over and the bibliographical notes begin, p. 263.

We should like to have seen the following readings adopted :

Ruines of Time, 173 : *for rage. read rage* ; P. W. Long from
Harvard Q.

Tearcs of the Muses, 412 : „ foole, „ foole ; P. W. Long, from
Harvard Q.

Visions of Petrarch, 85 : „ beheld „ behold Morris conj.

Mother Hubbard's Tale, 453 : „ Dirges „ Diriges Folio.

We notice a few misprints and mechanical mistakes :

Complaints, p. 10. *Ruines of Time*, 198 you *should read* your

p. 20. „ „ 523 flights „ „ slights

p. 111. *Muiopotmos*, 1296 hearts „ „ harts

p. 183, l. 14, opening and close of the Sixth Book of
The Faerie Queene should read opening of the Fourth
and close of the Sixth....

p. 260, l. 16, to attempt *should read* who attempt.

p. 270, Notes to *Ruines of Time*, 447-448 and 451-454, have been placed in error under notes to *Tearles of the Muses*: 451 has been wrongly printed 457.

Daphnaida, p. 212, l. 21, outwith should read outside (?)

p. 212, l. 37, immeasurable should read immeasurably.

The question of the dates of publication of the two volumes is difficult and tangled, and Professor Renwick may be forgiven for not having solved it finally. On one point at least he is too "absolute." The phrase of the Printer in his preface to *Complaints*, "since his departure over Sea" must refer, Professor Renwick says, to Spenser's leaving for Ireland in 1580. But, if Mr. F. P. Wilson is right (*R.E.S.*, ii (1926), p. 456), there is strong presumption that Spenser was in Ireland on May 30, 1590, and in that case "his departure over Sea" was early in that year.

Professor Renwick's commentary deserves generous praise. It sets Spenser's poetry in relation with the literary background of the Renaissance and establishes the chief sources of his ideas and literary conventions by judicious quotation of parallels. Such a method is especially useful in its application to these two volumes of minor poems, in particular the conventional *Complaints*. Spenser's indebtedness to the *Pléiade* is established up to the hilt, his dependance on Chaucer, and on the English historians, Holinshed, Camden, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, is fully illustrated, and the main directions of his reading in Latin and Italian authors sufficiently indicated. Poems of Spenser which for all his art remain poetic failures—witness the *Ruines of Time*—take on a new interest when they are accounted for by the literary soil from which they sprang. Part of Professor Renwick's purpose has been to throw up in a strong light the essentially learned and literary character of Spenser's poetic art. When we turn from these well-laboured volumes to the *Epithalamium* and the *Faerie Queene* it is with a new sense of wonder at the inscrutable ways of poetic genius.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

Shakespeare's Silences. ALWIN THALER. Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1929. Pp. xi + 279. 16s. net.

How Shakespeare Purged Jonson. ARTHUR GRAY. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons. 1928. Pp. 34. 2s. net.

The Self-Named William Shakespeare. A. MUDIE. Cecil Palmer. 1929. Pp. ii + 106. 5s. net.

Introduction to the Study and Interpretation of Drama. J. W. KAISER. Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger. 1929. Pp. 79.

OF these four contributions to Shakespearian study the most important is Thaler's *Shakespeare's Silences*. There are four essays in the book: "Shakespeare's Silences," "The Unhappy Happy Ending," and two studies in the influence of Shakespeare on Browne and Milton. The first essay is an attempt to gather together all the scattered "silences" of the plays and examine them from the point of view of dramatic technique. Many of these silences, especially at the end of plays, have, when examined individually, been considered "signs of carelessness or indifference on Shakespeare's part," or worse still, of inartistic bungling. Thaler insists that "as a measure of mere common sense" it is imperative to put parallel difficulties together, lest we dismiss as poetic errors of haste or omission, what may be cumulative indications of purposive technique. We are indebted to Thaler for thus making us examine all the cases of unexpected silence together—this alone almost proves his point that Shakespeare knew what he was doing—but especially admirable is his examination of what have seemed such flagrant flaws in technique as the final silence of Sylvia, Isabella and Hermione. Thaler reasons in each case that the woman's silence is either consistent with her character, her intuitive grasp of the needs of the immediate situation, or her understanding of the man she has to deal with. His defence of Sylvia's silence approves itself to the reason, but in spite of all he says for Isabella, one is still doubtful if this is not an instance of carelessness or indifference on Shakespeare's part. For after the great speeches of Act III, Sc. i of *Measure for Measure*, than which none of the tragedies strike a deeper note, the play drops into poor prose and a lower emotional level, as if the key had been set too deep

for Shakespeare to sustain at this time. If this is so, the argument from this play is not so valuable as from the others. Thaler maintains that Hermione also is "true to character" in her silent forgiveness of Leontes; it may be so, or it may be that she is equally true to character, after sixteen years of silence, in neither forgiving nor reproaching Leontes—the wrong has cut too deeply for words. Or is it that she stands on one side that the younger generation may hold the stage, as they do in all the romances? Acting alone would show this—and this was Ellen Terry's interpretation—but to the acting tradition we have no clue.

Of silences in characters Thaler finely distinguishes two kinds—that which is true to form always, as in Cordelia, and that which is a product of change and occasion. "The silence which falls upon Lady Macbeth wells not from the depth but from the tumult of the soul." The silence of Coriolanus, between leaving Rome and going to Tullus Aufidius, which Thaler does not mention, may be for a different reason, that Shakespeare is so entirely out of sympathy with a man who puts honour even before country that he shows no struggle in the mind of Coriolanus or gradual yielding to the temptation.

Thaler's second essay is, again, an attempt to defend the craftsmanship of Shakespeare. He suggests that theatrically the happy endings of comedies, such as *The Merchant of Venice*, and of the romances offend no one. The reader in his study resents them because the note has been set so deep in the beginning. "The real difficulty of the comedies lies not so much in the happy end as in the unhappy beginning," but in the theatre the discrepancy is unnoticed, while, especially in the romances, as the bitterness of the early scenes is dissolved in the final harmony of joy and hope and overruling peace, with the innocent joys of the younger generation in the foreground, the audience is left in a mood which gives both artistic and human pleasure. For this year's British Academy lecture, Professor Dover Wilson has insisted on the same point, that Shakespeare must be submitted to the tests of the theatre and not of the study. Both here and elsewhere, Thaler gives us some fine and subtle æsthetic appreciation of atmosphere and character which is both fresh and permanent in value.

Mr. Arthur Gray's book is an interesting thesis attempting to solve the long-debated problem of Kempe's remark in the *Scourge of Simony*,¹ "our fellow Shakespeare hath given [Ben Jonson]

¹ More usually known as *2 Return from Parnassus*.

a purge that hath made him bewray his credit." *Troilus and Cressida* is the play in which it has been generally thought that Shakespeare mocks Jonson; but when printed in 1609 *Troilus* had never been "clapper-clawed with the palms of the vulgar," and the *Scourge* was written in 1601. If we possess the play in which Shakespeare administered the scourge, it must have been written after 1599, when Jonson's two offending comedies had been staged, and before 1601. Gray finds that Jaques in *As You Like It* is the caricature of Jonson. Jaques' sudden conversion and retirement at the end of the play is Jonson's retirement from the stage in 1599 and his change of faith in prison. Points in Jaques' character, such as his dislike of music, his boasted travels, his moroseness, are all to be found in Jonson's pictures of himself in his three satires; Dekker in *Satiromastix* identifies Jaques as Jonson, in that he sums up Jonson's subjects of satire in Jaques' words "court, city, country"! Mr. Gray's suggestion is not a new one, but no one before has so completely identified Jaques with Jonson, nor has the satire been thought so drastic as to be called a purge. But Gray maintains that Jaques' affected melancholy and satirical attitude to life is sufficiently despised and refuted in the pastoral world to justify the word. Jonsonian humour is more attacked than Jonson the man in that general war of the Shakespearian comedy against sentiment, pedantry and every form of egoism, which purges "the foul body of the infected world" more readily than any Jonsonian satire.

The Bacon-Shakespeare theory has always its new defendants, but Mr. Mudie's book neither adds weight to the theory nor will advance the cause in general estimation. Fantastic and trivial arguments are given equal value with genuine ones; there is no consecutive reasoning in the book, and wide generalisations are quite unsupported by proof. Those who remain unconvinced by a bilateral cypher will not be shaken by Mr. Mudie's spiritualistic experiences with Bacon's spirit at a séance. A book that can so confuse the types of evidence which carry weight is not worth the attention of any serious Shakespearian scholar.

Kaiser's essay, which is a prelude to a larger book, is a minute application to one play, *The Merchant of Venice*, of the psychologist's interpretation of drama as the symbolism by which the writer projects his own scheme of life into reality. The plays are thus patterns of the ideal life of the dramatist, portrayed in the hero and his shadow,

the servants, or in his enemies, that is, his apparent friends whose characteristic virtues are precluded from the hero's own limited perfection. While admitting that the dramatist can only portray the world into which in his own spiritual experience he has entered, one does well after reading these subjective interpretations of the psychologists, to remind oneself of the other aspect of art as Keats expressed it, "The poetical character . . . has no self, it is everything and nothing. . . . A poet . . . has no Identity." Of the dramatist this is especially true. The proofs of this book have been very carelessly corrected.

M. YARDLEY.

Das englische Renaissancedrama. Von PHILIPP ARONSTEIN.

Leipzig und Berlin : Verlag B. G. Teubner. 1929. Pp. x+336.

To write a history of Elizabethan drama, so copious and multiform, is no small undertaking, and Dr. Aronstein, in spite of his being qualified for the task by over forty years of study, feels that his enterprise needs some justification. In his introduction he analyses the methods of Ward, the *Cambridge History*, Schelling and Creizenach and indicates their respective merits and demerits. He believes that the publication of Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage* marks an epoch in the study of the Elizabethan theatre and that now it is possible to examine much more closely the relation of the plays to the circumstances in which they were created. He seeks to trace the ideas and emotions prevalent among the public—in a word, to discover its taste, "We must start from the people, who enjoy, not from the poets who create." But taste varies from time to time and from class to class. Hence Dr. Aronstein declares that his work will take account of both chronological and sociological considerations.

Yet this method has its difficulties. Dr. Aronstein himself seems to be conscious of some of them. Thus on p. 22 he says: "Wir gehen nicht streng chronologisch vor . . . die Entwicklung der dramatischen Kunst, wie alles Lebendige, hält nicht die Zeitfolge genau ein," and on p. 74, "Wir haben eine Zeitlang die äussere Geschichte des Dramas aus dem Auge verloren." In a chapter on the children's companies, after a digression of three pages on certain of Dekker's plays acted elsewhere, we read: "Wir kehren zu den Kindertheatern zurück," One of the chief drawbacks of Dr. Aron-

stein's arrangement is the way in which authors whose dramatic career was long are discussed in various chapters. The account of Kyd and Marlowe has a unity and an effectiveness altogether lacking in that of Shakespeare and Jonson, or Dekker and Heywood, whose work is discussed in sections interrupted by intervening chapters. Thus *Hamlet* becomes separated from the other tragedies, and on p. 126, when Dr. Aronstein deals with the bulk of Munday's production, he feels bound to revert to *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, which has been discussed in isolation in a previous chapter.

In yet another respect Dr. Aronstein seems open to criticism. When he seeks to draw a distinction between the work of the playwrights who wrote for the children's companies and that of the dramatists supplying the public stage, he appears to us too rigid. If Marston and Chapman wrote tragedies of revenge, surely they had their predecessors in the public theatre. Indeed, Dr. Aronstein himself hears echoes of *Hamlet* in *The Malcontent* and admits the influence of Jonson on Marston's comedies. And if Chapman specialised in plays on contemporary French history, Marlowe had set him the example, while others dealt with events elsewhere. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that various playwrights wrote for both stages. Dr. Aronstein's emphasis on the love of sensation as a special feature of the children's theatres is hardly convincing. There was certainly no lack of sensation in the public theatre. The truth, it seems to us, is to be found in Dr. Aronstein's comment on p. 233: "Es fand zwischen den Bühnen eine beständige Anregung, ein Geben und Nehmen der Stoffe und Motive statt," which is confirmed by his remarks concerning Heywood on the next page.

We pass to a few questions of detail. Dr. Aronstein reasonably disclaims any intention of mentioning every play. It is surprising how many plays he does manage to discuss. But there is one omission which, in view of the play's historical importance, seems unjustifiable, viz. *Fulgens and Lucretia*. In speaking of *Ralph Roister Doister* Dr. Aronstein says that here Latin literature is skilfully adapted to English conditions. To us the adaptation appears imperfect because the spirit of English and of Latin comedy is so dissimilar. With reference to Marlowe Dr. Aronstein upholds the view that he was addicted to pæderasty and even suggests that he was shattered ("zerrüttet") by the vice. The evidence available, viz. Meres and passages in Marlowe's plays, is an insecure founda-

tion on which to build. Dr. Aronstein is too dogmatic and also unduly preoccupied with the matter, but he evidently thinks it, as he does the illicit love of brother and sister in *A King and No King*, "ein sehr pikantes Problem." In the account of Greene Dr. Aronstein rightly emphasises his originality, but he fails to bring out clearly his importance in the portrayal of women. Coming to Shakespeare, we find that Dr. Aronstein does not seem to appreciate the function of the characters in the underplot of the romantic comedies as a means of comment on the extravagant doings of the characters in the main plot. If he did, he would not contend that the romantic comedies were written solely to amuse. The necessity of moderation, sanity and proportion is surely emphasised again and again. When touching on Shakespeare's romances Dr. Aronstein points out their affinities with tragi-comedy, but he does not discriminate between the Shakespearean romance and the tragi-comedy of Beaumont and Fletcher, a distinction both important and illuminating. And is it just to say that the characters of *Measure for Measure* are raised "to an incomparable height" and to describe all Shakespeare's women as passive sufferers? The contrast thus made on p. 272 between the active, enterprising women of Fletcher and the passive women of Shakespeare is obviously a hasty generalisation. In a few other instances greater caution would not be misplaced. Thus on p. 113 we read that Shakespeare accepted *Every Man in his Humour* for the stage and played the chief part. What we know for certain is that Shakespeare took the chief part; the rest is only tradition. On p. 140 Dr. Aronstein is equally dogmatic in stating that Shakespeare "evidently" belonged to the party of Essex. Similarly, on pp. 133-4 the 'prentices of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* are contrasted with their quarrelsome counterparts in Heywood. Dr. Aronstein must have forgotten Act v, Scene ii in this play.

Dr. Aronstein enters thoroughly into the spirit of the various periods covered by "Elizabethan" drama. He appreciates the patriotism of the dramatists with remarkable objectivity and is familiar with the conditions under which they worked. Once, however, a phrase escapes him which smacks of modern Germany rather than of Tudor England. That is when he speaks of the theatres in time of plague being "polizeilich geschlossen." As a rule Dr. Aronstein is happy in translating the names of characters, but Zeal-of-the-Land Busy would be startled to find himself termed

"der Puritaner Rabbi." Even the Hebraism of the Puritans hardly warrants this ! His surprise would be shared by the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Privy Seal at their transmogrification into those hybrid gentlemen "der Lord Kammerherr und der Lord Gross-siegelbewahrer."

The names of authors, plays and characters are in general accurately printed, but attention may be drawn to the following errors : p. viii, l. 19, Chapmann ; p. 45, l. 15, *Goborduc* ; p. 113, l. 17, Slander instead of Slender. Other typographical errors are p. 24, l. 15, Komöde ; p. 25, l. 21, mit *seine* . . . Sprache ; p. 122, l. 24, wie *seine* Name sagt ; p. 143, l. 36, betrachten for betrachteten.

The least satisfactory feature of the book is the bibliography. Dr. Aronstein informs us that it is a select bibliography, containing no references to editions and mentioning detailed studies only if they are of general interest. The wisdom of rigidly excluding all editions is doubtful, for it means the omission of such valuable general contributions as the introduction to R. W. Bond's *Early Plays from the Italian* and Charlton's essay on Senecan influence. However, even if we accept Dr. Aronstein's plan, we cannot approve of this bibliography. To take only a few examples. In connection with John Heywood readers are referred to K. Young's article on the influence of French farce upon him, but nothing is said of Reed's investigations. Incidentally, Tucker Brooke is also passed over in silence. Again, if Cheffaud's study of Peele is included, why should Castelain on Jonson and Schoell on Chapman be omitted ? These examples are taken at random ; they could easily be multiplied. The bibliography is too arbitrary. As it stands, it does not provide the aid to the independent researcher which it claims to do.

In other respects we think highly of Dr. Aronstein's book. He has a gift for concise statement, his summaries of plots being often excellent, and it is remarkable how much ground he covers in his 320 pages of text. Moreover, although the author has all this vast sphere at his command, he does not repel the general reader by an undue parade of learning. He deals with an old theme in a new way, which, in spite of the drawbacks already indicated, has much to recommend it. We think therefore that even in its present form the book is a helpful introduction to Elizabethan drama, and that if the bibliography were overhauled, it could also be of service to more advanced students.

Bangor.

HERBERT G. WRIGHT.

Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century. By DAVID NICHOL SMITH. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. viii+92. 5s. net.

IN these three fluent and coherent lectures Professor Nichol Smith sets himself the following questions about Shakespeare in the eighteenth century: "What was his reputation then, and how have the critics, and the scholars, and the actors of that age contributed to his fame?"

In the first lecture, after a brief consideration of Shakespeare's reputation before the eighteenth century, the stage versions of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century are discussed. The second lecture considers the work on Shakespeare's text by eighteenth-century scholars and the method of these scholars. The third deals with the critics of the period and traces the change of critical emphasis from the discussion of Shakespeare's truth to nature and of his beauties and faults to the discussion of individual Shakespearean characters and of Shakespeare as seen through his characters.

The book is rich in suggestive syntheses and in historical sympathy. The summaries of eighteenth-century critics are excellent; in particular, the very fine pages on Pope and Johnson. Professor Nichol Smith's historical sympathy and insight are well shown in the following passage on the appreciation of Shakespeare and on a common condescension towards the taste of past ages:

Each age tends to belittle its predecessor's appreciation of him. The sense of discovery, the glow that comes on entering into what we take to be the full meaning, makes us doubt if others have seen what we see, and felt what we feel. Discovery is necessary to true appreciation, and we have always to make the discovery for ourselves. Whenever there is a compelling sense of power, or beauty, that we cannot wholly grasp, the discovery has been made. In this sense every age has discovered Shakespeare, and will continue to discover him (p. 3).

The author has, of course, not intended an exhaustive treatment. Those who wish fuller details can turn to Professor Nichol Smith's earlier work, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*. But, brief as this volume of lectures is, a large amount of information and luminous comment is compressed in its pages. The book, also, is evidence that style and scholarship may go together and that sound

scholarship may exist without an elaborate visible apparatus. In addition, these lectures compose the best bit of scholarly popularisation that I know.

F. B. KAYE.¹

A Critical Edition of Massinger's *The Roman Actor*.

A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by WILLIAM LEE SANDIDGE, Jr., Professor of English, University of Alabama. Princeton Studies in English Number 4. Princeton University Press [London: Oxford University Press], 1929. Pp. viii + 161. \$2.00.

WE learn from the preface to Miss E. A. W. Bryne's edition of *The Maid of Honour* (London, 1927, p. v) that "the separate plays of Massinger . . . are being edited as theses for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by students of Princeton University and Bryn Mawr College," and of this series Dr. Sandidge's work is (evidently) an instalment.

His treatment of the sources is full and sensible, though it might perhaps have been made easier to follow if, instead of composing a joint summary of the accounts of Domitian's reign given by Suetonius and Dio Cassius (which has to be supplemented by constant quotations² in the course of the ensuing discussion), Dr. Sandidge had given a consecutive analysis of one narrative with notes on the agreement or divergence of the other. His order is not that either of Suetonius or of Dio or of the play, and since he is very sparing of precise references it is not always easy to discover how much Massinger owes to one source and how much to the other, nor—still more important—how much he has added or omitted in his romantic reconstruction of history. The general dearth of references is all the more regrettable since Dr. Sandidge's standard of accuracy in small matters is not what it might be; the first page of his introduction is occupied by an excerpt from Herbert's *Office Book* with no reference to the source quoted and containing—if I have guessed the source rightly—one mistake, a transcript of the

¹ Owing to Professor Kaye's much regretted death in February last, it has been necessary to print this review without his corrections.—Ed. R. E. S.

² "Quotations are from Holland's tr. of Suetonius [usually modernised] and Foster's tr. of Dio." P. 6, n. 3.

quarto's title-page containing one mistake, a quotation from the Stationer's [sic] Register with no reference and containing seven mistakes, and the beginning of a list of Later Texts—ungrammatical, since it was the play and not the "quarto of 1629" which was "included in subsequent collections."

Dr. Sandidge finds that Massinger's underlying moral purpose in *The Roman Actor* was the glorification in Paris of "a man whose character was built upon a sense of justice and guided by calm judgment" (p. 37), but he recognises the interesting complexity of the other leading characters, and shows with what delicate and versatile artistry each is illuminated by contrast with the rest. There is an apparent contradiction in his opinion of Domitia, since in a single paragraph (p. 39) "It is admitted that Massinger was not endowed with that imaginative genius that enabled him to create characters" and yet "the dramatist has given us a full-length portrait of the empress and shows her as a developing and realistic character," but perhaps the real contradiction is between Dr. Sandidge's better judgment and the widespread delusion that "Massinger never could draw a woman."

The text, the most important part of any edition, is on the whole Dr. Sandidge's strongest point. He aims at reprinting page for page (with one necessary exception) the Princeton copy of the quarto, incorporating in his text the author's autograph corrections as published by Dr. Greg in 1924 (not 1925) from the copy then in the possession of the late Sir Edmund (not Edmond) Gosse, and admitting as rarely as possible the conjectural alterations of modern editors. This aim he attains completely enough for most literary purposes¹; I have noticed fifty or sixty minor errors of spelling or punctuation, but only the following few points seem worthy of special notice:

P. 44.] In the list of "The principall Actors" the six names from Benfield to Grevill have slipped down one line, upsetting the distribution of parts, which is further disturbed by the introduction of "*Fulcinius*, a Senator."

i. ii. 102 s.d. *Exeunt omnes preter Longinum.*] The name *should* be *Lamiam*. The mistake is found in the quarto, and is probably

¹ The student of seventeenth-century typography will be annoyed by the inconsistent treatment of italic *v* and *V* and particularly of the quarto's swash italic *ŷ*; this is sometimes treated as *I*, as I think it should be, but more often appears as *J*. And may I express the hope that if the Princeton University Press intends to print any more books in which the long *f* is retained it will procure some *ff* ligatures? Such words as "affaffinate" and "posseffion" (ii. i. 349, 351) are needlessly ugly.

Massinger's, since there is no Longinus in the play and we must turn to Suetonius to learn that Domitia's cognomen was Longina; but if on these grounds "*Longinum*" is to be retained it calls for annotation.

I iv. 13 s.d. *Fulcinus, and prisoners*] Massinger's deletion of the "*and*," recorded by Dr. Greg, is overlooked.

III. i. 77 tyrant] Read "tyranne" or "tyrann". The quarto reads "tyrannie", and Massinger in the Gosse copy has deleted the "ie".¹ Dr. Greg (4 *The Library*, v. 81) suggested that "Massinger wrote *tyrann* (i.e. 'tyrant')" in his manuscript and that this was misread by the compositor; I have no doubt whatever that Massinger wrote "tyranne" here, as he did at v. i. 27, v. ii. 11, 68, where the compositor followed him, and in *Beleue as you List*, III. iii. 248 (= l. 1771 of the Malone Society edition). Dr. Sandidge strangely reads "tyrant" in all four places; can he have been misled by a hasty reading of Dr. Greg's bracketed gloss?

III. ii. 125 the] All copies of the quarto which I have seen read "this", and I see no need to change it.

IV. ii. 34 gainsome] So the quarto and all editors. *N.E.D.* records only one other instance of this word, from modern dialect; I suggest reading "gamesome", a favourite adjective with Massinger and an easy minim error, with just the required sense.

IV. ii. 146 My *Minerua*] All copies of the quarto which I have seen read "By *Minerua*".

v. i. 19 lend] The quarto's "lent" is surely right, for the plot is already a thing of the past; the sense must be "if you were involved in it, take heed, i.e. be on your guard." Gifford, to whom Dr. Sandidge credits the alteration, retained "lent" in his first edition, and I suspect that the "lend" of the second is due not to him but to an officious printer.

v. i. 115 as sure] The correction of the quarto's "assure" (with a ligature) should be noted.

v. i. 119-120] The correction of the verse-arrangement should be noted.

v. ii. 60 sq.] The quarto's arrangement of the verse should be recorded. And why celebrate the attainment of the penultimate page by indenting all speeches which begin in the middle of the line?

¹ So Dr. Greg. Doubtless he is right; Massinger certainly deleted the "e", but I do not feel sure that it was not his intention to alter the "i" to "e" rather than to delete it.

The notes and glossary are the least valuable part of Dr. Sandidge's work. We are duly grateful for the quotations (usually in modern prose translations) of the passages in the Roman poets to which Massinger refers, and for the frequent citations of Mr. Simpson on punctuation and of Dr. Greg on the autograph corrections. But for the rest there is a tendency to consult Dr. Sandidge's convenience rather than that of the reader. Common Elizabethan expressions are fully illustrated from the *N.E.D.*, whereas the occasional difficulties in Massinger's usually simple text are passed over. I should like to know why Dr. Sandidge retained "*Longinum*" in the stage direction quoted above, and what he makes of Domitian's "after losses Guards are vsefull" (v. ii. 61). Will his readers see at once and without guidance that when Parthenius urges Domitilla to "call for your share" (III. ii. 298) he is insinuating that she is being turned into a professional actress and ironically advising her to resign from the company? If so, they will hardly need such notes as that on IV. ii. 297:

*Rome's bravest actor.*¹ *N.E.D.* points out that brave was formerly used (loosely) as a general epithet of admiration or praise: worthy, excellent, good, famous, etc.

Many notes of this sort might well have been relegated to the glossary; and if this latter is to include "*ague*, sb. an acute or violent fever, *obs.*" and "*dispatch*, v. to make haste, be quick, *obs.* or *arch.*" it might also explain such things as "particular" (I. iii. 135) = "personal" or "partisan," and even "preuented" (IV. ii. 191) = "fore-stalled," to either of which a reader ignorant of Latin and unread in the literature of the period might, in their contexts, assign a wrong sense.

I end, unwillingly, in a querulous vein, only because the notes come at the end of the book. The value of Dr. Sandidge's work lies in the material collected in his introduction and, above all, in his provision of a convenient text. Perhaps the most fascinating and most important question which faces the student of the English drama in the latter half of James I's reign is that of Massinger's collaboration in the plays published under the names of Beaumont and Fletcher. A recent work on the subject reveals the difficulty—which all students must have felt—of presenting and debating the

¹ I note that the text rightly reads "*Romes brauest Actor*".

evidence upon which a reasoned judgment can be formed, in the absence of reliable texts with numbered lines. Every such work as this of Dr. Sandidge is a welcome step forward in the discussion of that question.

A. K. McILWRAITH.

Melancholike Humours. By NICHOLAS BRETON. Edited with an Essay on Elizabethan Melancholy by G. B. HARRISON. Scholartis Press. 1929. Pp. iv+90. 7s. 6d. net.

THESE slight but not ungraceful verses, appearing in the hey-day of the "humour" fashion, were ushered in by a sonnet *In Authorem* written by the master of "humours," Ben Jonson himself. In this their sincerity is perhaps over-praised—

Not wearing moodes, as gallants doe a fashion,
In these pide times, only to shewe their braines.

However this may be, Breton's "doleful passions," "fantasticke solemn humours," "ieasting curses" and "conceited fancies," his "smiles misconstrued," his "farewells to loue" and "to the world," provide Mr. G. B. Harrison with the occasion for an Essay on Elizabethan Melancholy which is the real meat of the book.

This later Elizabethan period, in spite of (or, perhaps, because of) the fact that it stands in the limelight of research, remains as baffling as ever as soon as we try to connect life and letters. The problem of what we are justified in deducing of living character, both public and private, from the laments of the poet, the diatribes of the satirist and the types of the dramatist, grows no easier to solve. Perhaps because many of the old generalisations about the spacious days are dying so very hard (in schools, for instance), the tendency in many books is to limit more and more the realism of many branches of Elizabethan literature. We have long been forbidden to speak of Shakespeare as composing his comedies "On the Heights" or writing his tragedies "Out of the Depths," and the prevalence of catchwords, stock complaints and ready-made descriptions has led several critics to the view that the drift towards melancholy, like other apparent changes in mental and moral qualities was a mainly literary movement. Mr. Harrison, while making full allowance for the play of purely literary cause and effect, insists on a foundation in life. The Elizabethan appetite and diet were in

themselves a sufficient source of much black bile. Puritanism was an expression of certain forms of very real religious and political discontent, and it was not only the foreign University of Wittenberg which produced its Hamlet. In the course of his illustrations, Mr. Harrison brings together, not only the poet, the dramatist, the pamphleteer, and the satirist, but also the Man-in-the-Street, the Elizabethan dyspeptic, the doctor, the lover, the disillusioned graduate (generally the Poor Parson of those days), the more intelligent courtier and the more responsible statesman. All these, in so far as they have made themselves articulate to later generations, are shown as echoing Hamlet's outburst, "The times are out of joint." The virus is seen at work as far back as the Armada period, and even Marlowe anticipates the note. In Shakespeare's characters from Jaques to Timon can be traced an increasing preoccupation (Mr. Harrison finds it at the end an obsession) with the theme.

Mr. Harrison has brought to the elucidation of his subject selections from his unhackneyed, day-by-day knowledge of Elizabethan ways—a knowledge which is doubtless at the moment being shaped into fresh instalments of *An Elizabethan Journal*. Like all stimulating work, this Essay leaves the mind alert to new questions and asking for more. We wonder what antidote Bacon carried to preserve him from the infection. Mr. Harrison is too broadminded to forbid us to speculate as to the autobiographical significance of Shakespeare's tragic period. What he says as to the sense of "misfit" in the more idealistic temperaments tempts us to explore afresh the various misfits that combine in the pessimism of Donne. It may also suggest another cause of a feeling of frustration in the case of many of the graver, bookish minds of the period—the forlorn attempt to find a way out through the ancient moralists. The impress of old Stoical thought and of its great Commonplace, Death, is stamped deep on most of the non-Baconian sources of the Essay and on much of the discursive prose of the latter Renaissance. In the face of the prevailing theological concepts, however, Roman thoughts of dying could offer, in the last resort, even less hope of a solution than the various "Platonic" escapes from the wheel of change did to the mystical-minded. It is little wonder, therefore, that, from the time of Montaigne onwards, the increase of the introspective faculty should more and more mask the still abundant vigour of the age with the pale cast of melancholy thought.

G. D. WILLCOCK.

The Batchelars Banquet. An Elizabethan Translation of *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*. Edited by F. P. WILSON. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xlviii+124. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS admirable edition of *The Batchelars Banquet* will delight every one—unless we except the shade of Thomas Dekker, and in view of what Professor Wilson has already done for his *Plague Pamphlets* and the *Four Birds of Noahs Arke* he must have a residuum of gratitude to help him over his present disappointment. It is unlikely that he will again be credited with the authorship of this translation. Mr. Wilson shows for the first time on what slender grounds it has been attributed to Dekker, and he makes out a strong case for Robert Tofte, from whose *Of Mariage and Wiving* he quotes some pages which remind him more forcibly than any other Elizabethan prose-work known to him of *The Batchelars Banquet*. Having convinced his more impressionable reader by his nice analysis of these pages and by his account of Tofte, Mr. Wilson makes magnificently light of his discovery, and remarks with a detachment of which few editors possess the secret: "No claim is indeed made on his behalf, for the evidence is too slight to assign the work to his pen; but he has a better right to it than Thomas Dekker, and if scholars continue to attribute it to Dekker it may be hoped that they will give some reason for doing so."

In such matters Mr. Wilson can afford to be generous. In his introduction he gives an account, "brisk without lightness, without dullness grave," of *Les Quinze Joyes*, of the present and other translations, and clears up for the first time the bibliographical history of this text in English.

Mr. Wilson, who speaks of Swinburne pouring "the vials of his praise" upon this book, does not himself make any extravagant claims for its literary qualities. He admits that "of the high imaginative power which is concerned to exhibit character rather than a point of view, this writer is innocent," but he adds with complete justice that "the passage which above all testifies to the originality of his art is the long dialogue in the third chapter, one of the best chapters in the book, in which the gossips discuss the frailties of their husbands over wine, comfits, and scandal. The passage is wholly original, yet there is no sketch of Elizabethan bourgeois life so brilliant in the precision of its phrasing and in the

cool detachment of its irony except perhaps a similar scene in Middleton's *A Chast Mayd in Cheape-side* and a page or so in Deloney's prose-novels."

Grosart's edition of *The Batchelars Banquet* is not only textually unsound but almost unprocurable. Mr. Aldington's recent independent translation of *Les Quinze Joyes* into archaic English could not be of the same value as an Elizabethan translation itself. Compare :

"Verily, sir," saith the old trot that nurseth his dame and feigneth herself a very doctor for her learning, "Thy gossip from such a place did naught this day but urge my lady to eat ; but this day she hath touched naught that God made to grow. I know not how she fareth ; many an one and more have I nursed, but my lady is the feeblest dame that e'er I saw." (Aldington, *The XV Joyes of Marriage*.)

with :

Then comes downe mistresse Nurse as fine as a farthing fiddle, in her petticoate and kirtle, having on a white wastcoate, with a flaunting cambricke ruffe about her neck, who like a Doctris in facultie comes thus upon him. Good Lord Sir, what paines you take, here is no bodie can please our mistresse but your selfe : I will assure you on my credit that I doe what I can, yet for my life I cannot I any way content her. Moreover here came in mistresse Cot. and mistresse Con. who did both of them what they could to have your wife eate something, neverthelesse all that they did, could not make her taste one spoonefull of any thing all this livelong day : I know not what she ayles : I have kept many women in my time, both of worship and credit (simple though I stand heere) but I never knew any so weake as she is. (*The Batchelars Banquet*.)

We cannot afford to lose the Elizabethan's sketch of the nurse, or his "mistresse Cot. and mistresse Con." (Mr. Wilson's account of the translator's additions and amplifications is of great interest.) The earliest and best edition of this work is accordingly made accessible for the first time, and we owe its editor thanks.

The present edition prints from the Bodleian copy of the earliest 1603 text, records variants and supplies valuable notes and glossary.

M. G. LLOYD THOMAS.

A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642. By EDWIN NUNGEZER, Ph.D. Yale University Press (London: H. Milford). 1929. 8vo. Pp. vi+438. 22s. 6d. net.

THIS is a most useful compilation, which takes us down a quarter of a century later than the actor list in Sir Edmund Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*. Dr. Nungezer, who is an assistant professor of English in the University of Oklahoma, makes no pretence of original research, but he has brought together with admirable patience and thoroughness whatever published information he has been able to find respecting well over a thousand persons. His full bibliographical list shows the wide scope of his reading and reveals how successful he has been in bringing his work up to date. Thus he has availed himself of Mr. G. E. Bentley's notes from parish registers published in *The Times Literary Supplement* in November 1928, though a subsequent instalment in an American periodical proved unavailable. Of course much information still remains to be dug out of registers and legal records, and as this comes to light such a work as the present will need revision or supplement, but for the moment it is commendably complete. It is true that students interested in a particular person or subject may be able to add a detail here and there. I fancy a few more facts concerning William Cartwright junior are known. There is a mention of John Holland in a stage-direction in 2 *Henry VI*, which should have been recorded, while the name also appears in a manuscript play in private hands. Of course, any one with opportunity to consult original documents will be able here and there to make additions and corrections. Thus Sir E. K. Chambers noted, as occurring in the manuscript of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, "the names of three actors, 'G[eorge] Ver[non]', 'J: R Cro' and 'G. Rick'." Mr. Nungezer duly records Vernon, but takes no note of the other two, presumably because he could not identify them. "J: R Cro" is a misreading for "J: Rho:", and the reference should be added to the account of John Rhodes. Of "Rick" I know nothing, but it would have been better to have recorded him, even if the name is imperfect, on the chance of further evidence turning up.

The *Dictionary* should prove invaluable not only to the general student but likewise to the specialist, who it is to be hoped will keep it constantly by him and annotate it freely as a contribution towards the ideal register of the future.

W. W. G.

The History of the English Novel. The Elizabethan Age and After. By ERNEST A. BAKER, D.Lit., M.A. London: H. F. & G. Witherby. 1929. 8½ in. Pp. 303. 16s. net.

IN this book Professor Baker continues the narrative he opened in his earlier volume, published in 1924, which carried the history of English fiction "from the Beginnings to the Renaissance." And in these two volumes the novel, as we interpret the word to-day, is barely reached.

In the introductory chapter to his first volume Professor Baker discussed various definitions of the novel, and offered, as his own formula: "The interpretation of human life by means of fictitious narrative in prose." To the questioner who asks whether the novel may not be written in verse, and cites *Don Juan* in point, Professor Baker replies that, whereas the kingdom of poetry is the kingdom of the spirit the province of prose is the ordinary and puzzling world we inhabit. "Poetry is creative, whilst the novel is, primarily, not creative but analytical." Is it not plain, however, that so rigid a statement must be humoured with qualifications? May not poetry become analytical and yet remain poetry? Donne occurs to mind, and even Browning. And, contrariwise, the greater novelists have created new visions of man's prosaic life. Professor Baker admits as much, but regards this higher reach as transcending the true function of the novel, which is, primarily, to analyse and to interpret. The truth is that no literary form slips from the ties of binding description with so ready an artlessness as prose fiction in its many guises. Each definition musters its troop of exceptions and rear-guard of qualifications. Even the survey in retrospect, until we reach the eighteenth century, offers no ordered stepping-stones, but, rather, a medley of romances, didactic discourses, essays, character sketches, each and all of which have been gathered into the design of the novel as it is written in our own day.

These first two volumes thus resolve themselves into a descriptive

chronicle of phases, attitudes and attempts. "Looking back," writes Professor Baker, "we are naturally obsessed by the idea of the novel as a goal towards which the earlier forms of literature were tending." And he quotes some admirable remarks by M. Abel Chevalley :

L'histoire du roman n'est pas du tout une Marche à l'Étoile orientée vers Richardson et Fielding et, de là, sur les constellations du dernier siècle. . . . Bannissons-en l'idée de progrès qui jalonne de faux indicateurs tant d'histoires de la littérature. C'est une série de recommencements.

This is well said, and, thus far, despite a brave attempt to trace evolution, Professor Baker's work is chiefly an account of episodic literary forms and ventures.

The literary instinct of the age with which the present volume deals turned to poetic drama. The only writer of the first order who tried prose fiction was Sir Philip Sidney. The history of Elizabethan fiction is, therefore, "on the whole, a record of failure, of the exploration of misleading routes and the discovery of dead ends." *Euphuës* was a pretty exercise; the *Arcadia* an example of the pastoral in its best craftsmanship and beauty; the tales of vagabondage and low life, the cony-catching pamphlets, drew nearer to realistic representation, but too often degenerated into copy-book work. It is only with Nashe and Deloney that we come to the substance and genius of humanity; and more particularly with Deloney. Nashe, in *Jack Wilton*, turned from euphuism and the pastoral-romantic to the stuff of life; but neither in character-drawing nor in dialogue can he hold a candle to Deloney, whose place as a writer in the age of Elizabeth was very much that of Defoe at a later date. A man of obscure origin, he was contemned by the university wits, though the common people read him gladly, and his tales for long ran through successive editions. But for adequate recognition he waited more than three hundred years. The *Cambridge History of English Literature* can claim, among its many distinctions, an awakened consciousness of Deloney; and if, before this, Jusserand could write a work specifically surveying the novel of the period, and ignore him, the debt, long overdue, has been redeemed in France by Professor Legouis (*Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, pp. 340-341), by M. Abel Chevalley's admirable study (1926), and by the same writer's translations of Deloney's tales into French. And now Professor Baker assigns to him his true place in the foreground of Elizabethan prose fiction.

The space occupied by the chapter on Character is, perhaps, unduly large; and Professor Baker here trespasses beyond his natural limits into a discussion of the passage from seventeenth-century character books to the character sketches of Steele and Addison. It may be questioned, however, whether there was ever any living relationship between a stiff fashion and the naturalism of the Augustan essayists, whether the character of Steele and Addison was not of independent origin. There is a distinction between sterile links and living sources, which is frequently disregarded.

In noting the spread of the vogue leading to the publication of collections of characters Professor Baker refers to Mr. E. C. Baldwin's bibliographical list, but makes no mention of Miss Gwendolen Murphy's larger and more complete work, which contains well over two hundred titles.

Professor Baker's book is largely founded on courses of lectures delivered in University College, London. The general character of the lecture syllabus has not been wholly eliminated; but in a work of the kind this need be no demerit. He writes both for the student and the ordinary reader; he does not presuppose knowledge which belongs to few; he does not hesitate to summarise a story when he thinks it necessary; and his pages are generously furnished with illustrative passages. The method of summary, analysis and quotation is well handled in the chapter on Sidney's *Arcadia*, a difficult book for the expositor. The work, as it progressed, has evidently grown beyond the author's first anticipations, but the labour has certainly not miscarried. When complete this large and well-documented survey should present an excellent book of reference combined with sound and discriminating criticism.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

Thomas Shadwell: His Life and Comedies. By ALBERT S. BORGMAN. The New York University Press. 1928. Pp. x+269. \$5.00.

AN adequate biographical and critical study of Thomas Shadwell has long been wanted. In his own time such influential personages as Newcastle and Dorset, Rochester and Sedley, fully recognised his merits as a dramatist, thereby endorsing the general opinion of the play-going public. But he had the misfortune to come under

the lash of Dryden's satire, the sting of which has remained potent to the present day. It is arguable that the brilliant wit and compelling force of *Mac Flecknoe* have unduly influenced many literary critics who would leave Shadwell in the oblivion to which his enemy and rival consigned him. However this may be, among modern writers, the late Sir Edmund Gosse, Mr. Charles Whibley, and Mr. Bonamy Dobrée have set their seal to Dryden's verdict: all agree that Shadwell is dull. On the other hand, the Rev. Montague Summers, in the Introduction to his recent edition of the dramatist's complete works, does not conceal an enthusiastic admiration for his subject. Previously, a carefully considered but necessarily brief appreciative estimate of his importance had been given by Professor Allardyce Nicoll in his *History of Restoration Drama*. And now to Professor Borgman we are indebted for a detailed study providing the materials, clearly arranged and fully documented, for a complete, or nearly complete, picture of the man and his work.

The plan adopted by Professor Borgman is as follows: in the first six chapters, occupying one hundred and fourteen pages, he deals with the facts of Shadwell's life, with the circumstances in which his plays were produced, with literary and political controversies, and with his reputation from his own time to the present; in the second part of the work the thirteen comedies are discussed in separate chapters. A good index completes the book.

Although Professor Borgman has not succeeded in clearing up the vexed questions concerning Shadwell's birth and marriage, he has discovered in the Registers of St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, records of the baptisms of three of his children, William, George, and Anne; and of the burials of the two boys at an early age. On the other hand, nothing is reported of Charles, the son who later became the author of *The Fair Quaker of Deal*, and other plays which carried on into the eighteenth century the tradition of the "humours" comedy.

Of the controversies associated with Shadwell's name, including his famous quarrel with Dryden, his bickerings with Settle, and his embroilment with the Whig-Tory disputes of 1681-1683, his biographer gives a full account, incorporating all that is of importance in recent writings on the subject and frequently adding new illustrative material. Discussing the question of the authorship of *The Medal of John Bayes*, he supports Luttrell's ascription to Shadwell, adducing, besides two or three items of "internal"

evidence, the fact that Janeway, the publisher, had previously printed in *The Impartial Protestant Mercury* a defence of his character.¹ Such evidence is by no means convincing; and the same may be said of the attempt to father on Shadwell *The Tory Poets*. In this satire, the sneer at Otway, who "never writes a Verse but when he is drunk," seems singularly inappropriate, coming from one who is known to have been his boon companion. That the friendship of these two men remained unbroken in spite of political differences is attested by a writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of the year 1738, quoted only in part by Professor Borgman in another connection. The reference to "Bullies of o're grown Bulks, and little Souls" in Otway's *Complaint* is said to be "undoubtedly a slur at Shadwell." The phrase is surely too vague to warrant such an assumption.

In dealing with Shadwell's reputation, Professor Borgman shows that the moral purpose which it was his wont to stress was widely recognised in his own age. The omission of his name from Collier's *Short View* does not appear so surprising in view of the fact that other writers cited some of his plays in evidence of the "usefulness" of the stage. Thus *The Libertine* was singled out for praise on the ground that in the end Don John is swallowed up in flames "for his libertinism and his impiety." Edward Filmer commends the dramatist in that he did "stretch the Law of Comedy rather than suffer so much wickedness to go off with a less remarkable Punishment." More than a century later, Coleridge, quoting from this play in illustration of "dramatic probability," also pointed out its "moral value." Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it appears to be the first representation in England of the Don Juan legend. When it first came out, Betterton made a great hit in the title-role, and later Purcell contributed to its fame by setting the music to the masque of *Shepherds and Shepherdesses*. It remained a stock piece for several decades in the eighteenth century.

Although, as Filmer indicates, *The Libertine* is essentially a comedy, it is not included in Professor Borgman's canon. The other plays omitted from the second part of his work are *The Royal Shepherdess*, *Psyche*, *The Tempest* (Q 1674), and *Timon* (Q 1678). The last two are discussed in detail by Professor Hazelton Spencer in his recent book, *Shakespeare Improved*. In the present work it is stated that Shadwell's *Timon* "seems to have set the fashion for a

¹ Professor Borgman is here countering the arguments of Mr. Thorn-Drury put forward in *R.E.S.* i, 190-192.

series of rewritings of Shakespearean tragedies and historical plays" (p. 32), and a list follows, beginning with Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*. Actually, of course, both *Macbeth* (Q 1673 and 1674) and *Hamlet* (Q 1676) had previously suffered at the hands of the "improvers"; and it is probable that the process of adaptation was a gradual one. On the question of the authorship of *The Tempest* (Q 1674) Professor Borgman accepts without discussion the case for Shadwell as argued by Mr. W. J. Lawrence. In the references to this play and to *Psyche* an opportunity is missed in failing to point out their significance as forerunners of the more famous "dramatic operas" associated with the name of Purcell.

The treatment of the thirteen comedies follows a uniform plan: a brief summary of the stage history, a synopsis of the plot, a discussion of the sources, and a general criticism of the play. The sources in particular are dealt with very thoroughly, and in some instances, notably in that of *The Virtuoso*, Professor Borgman brings forward some new material. He also shows that Shadwell's debt to Molière is much slighter than had often been assumed. The criticisms throughout are judicious and adequate. In the summing up, Shadwell's weaknesses, his coarseness and carelessness in design and his want of polish in expression, are duly acknowledged; while full credit is given for the wide range of his comic invention both in plot and in characterisation, for his skill in adapting his sources to the needs of his audience, and for the graphic realism of his scenes. His best comedies, among which are included *Epsom-Wells*, *The Squire of Alsatia* and *The Volunteers*, entitle him, as his biographer justly says, to a place "next in importance to that occupied by Etherege and Wycherley."

A list of performances of the separate plays might have been given in an appendix to show at a glance their relative popularity not only in his own day but also in the eighteenth century. A bibliography of the texts would also have been useful. These are points of minor importance. Professor Borgman is to be congratulated on having written what will doubtless be regarded for a long time to come as the standard biography of Shadwell, a scholarly and readable work, to the value of which the publishers and printers have in large measure contributed.

D. M. WALMSLEY.

English Comic Drama, 1700-1750. By F. W. BATESON.
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. 158. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. F. W. BATESON has written an excellent book on a very unpromising subject. The period between the date of *The Way of the World* and that of *The Good Natured Man* is generally agreed to be one of the most barren in the history of the English drama, and is only surpassed in this respect by the still more dreary waste that lies between Sheridan and T. W. Robertson. The acted drama of the first half of the eighteenth-century continued indeed to be written by men of letters, even by men of genius like Addison and Fielding and men of distinguished talent like Gay and Steele, and did not, like its successor in the early nineteenth century, fall into the hands of mere hacks; but it lacks vitality and the quality of growth. The spirit of great literature was passing away from the theatre. Many explanations of this undoubted fact have been attempted. The most convincing is that which the late William Archer set forth so brilliantly in his *The Old Drama and the New*. English dramatic art was replaced by the novel and other literary forms, not because of any revolution in taste or any social change, but because the condition of the theatres in London was unfavourable to any new and vital developments. The system of patent houses which had probably been a blessing under Charles II became a curse under Anne and George I.

Mr. Bateson gives an admirably written and succinct account of the comic dramas of six authors: Cibber, Steele, Mrs. Centlivre, Gay, Carey and Fielding. These writers are presumably selected because their works are considered to be especially characteristic of the age. Farquhar and Vanbrugh are probably excluded because they are regarded as belated representatives of "Restoration" comedy. Yet Farquhar is surely touched by the spirit of the new age, and the atmosphere of *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Beaux Stratagem* is more akin to that of the novels of Fielding than to the rarefied air of *The Way of the World*. It might indeed be contended that Farquhar's comedies are the best examples of the English comic drama produced in the period under survey.

Still, what Mr. Bateson gives us is so good that it is churlish to complain of his omissions. He has a remarkable power of seizing upon and explaining the essential characteristics of an author, and

of relating them to the spirit of the age. For instance, the following passage on Steele is the most masterly criticism of that little understood author that the present writer remembers to have read :

... Lapses of taste and lapses of power are not less characteristic of Steele's writings. I do not mean the occasional indecencies. . . . I mean the insincerity and stupidity which go with the sentimentality and the didacticism, and make the one nauseating and the other tedious. Perhaps it would be possible to consider this sentimentality and this didacticism as respectively an excess and a defect of the sentiment which is peculiar to him. They are essentially the penalty exacted by an insufficient assimilation of experience. The humanistic and ethical view of the world, which is characteristic of the eighteenth century, had not transformed Steele as in different ways it transformed Addison and Swift. It was only half digested, and its expression in consequence is only partially successful. It was not the arduously acquired philosophy of a lifetime, but a lesson learnt by rote and not by heart ; or if by the heart, at least not by the head.

The " character " of Henry Carey is even better :

Carey is the *petit bourgeois* of the Augustans ; a Gay in drugget, the Prior of the Prentices. The simple sentiment and the homely phrasing of " Sally in our Alley " and " Sally Sweetbread " are as " middle-class " as *Robinson Crusoe* or *Pamela*. They convey the same suggestion of a cosy fireside piety, where true love subsists happily on the Bible and Poor Robin's Almanack and the annual excursion to Bartholomew Fair. But there is a difference, none the less. Defoe and Richardson are *bourgeois* from the inside ; they have known no other world, they will abide by no other values. Their *bourgeoisie* is natural and instinctive ; Carey's is not. There is a faint but unmistakable flavour of irony in his poems, which betrays the condescending interest of an outsider. It is as if St. James's were masquerading by the banks of the Fleet River.

This is not only fine criticism but fine English prose and delightful reading. Besides this gift of vividly presenting his authors' essential quality, Mr. Bateson has to an eminent degree the gift of happy quotation. The quotations scattered through his book form a well-chosen anthology of most of the best things in the plays with which he is dealing. In spite of this enthusiasm for his subject his criticism is sane and level headed throughout, and the only occasion on which he is carried away by his delight in eighteenth-century style is to be found in the sentence where he ventures to compare the deft prettiness of Gay's lyric art with the magic of Campion and Bridges.

Fortunately Mr. Bateson has not confined himself to comedy properly so-called. He discusses not only the regular comedies of

Cibber, Steele, Mrs. Centlivre and Fielding, but comic ballad operas like *The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*, Carey's nonsense plays *Chrononhotonthologos* and the *Dragon of Wantley*, and even incidentally the same author's delightful lyrics. In fact, this is really a book on the spirit of the early eighteenth century, and it is one of the wisest and most illuminating discussions of that subject which have appeared for many years. The introduction with its comparison of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century and its definition and illustration of sentimentalism, and numerous other passages throughout the book, such as the notable page on the "concreteness" of Fielding, are the work of a critic with a vision capable of piercing behind the externals of his subject. In fact, Mr. Bateson appears to have a mind of the very rare kind which is capable of doing scholarly and accurate work on details, and at the same time of keeping a sense of proportion and seeing a subject as a whole and in relation to broad philosophic conceptions. No one who is interested in the eighteenth century should fail to read his book. It is one of the few recent works of "research" which not only (to continue in academic jargon) deserve to be called "original contributions to knowledge," but which can be read and thoroughly enjoyed for their own qualities of wit and wisdom and style.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

Diaries of William Johnston Temple, 1780-1796. Edited with a Memoir by LEWIS BETTANY. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. lxxvi+197. 21s. net.

TEMPLE is known as the friend and correspondent of Boswell and may be considered entitled to the memoir and to the careful edition of his diaries which Mr. Bettany has given us. But though he had literary ambitions, they came to nothing; he was a clergyman with little interest in his profession; and he has no personal attraction. In fact, his habit of saying nasty things about his children in Greek characters is distinctly unpleasant.

Mr. Bettany has given rather full accounts of the persons mentioned in the diaries, but they are not always brought into relation with his text. On p. xxxiv we hear that Lord Lisburne was a member of Lord North's administration, and therefore nominally at least a Tory; yet Temple was fond of airing liberal notions for Lord

Lisburne's benefit (p. xlv). No further explanation is given of Lord Lisburne's attitude. There is an account of Sir Joshua Vanneck on p. 120 without any reference to the passage of the Diary which is concerned with him, and on p. 141 "We went in Mr. Windhams coach to [space] Sir Joshua V" without any reference to the previous account. On p. 148 one is referred to the *D.N.B.* for Dr. John Moore, but this does not prevent Mr. Bettany writing on p. 61: 'Dr. Henry Moore appears as "Dr. Moor" and his novel "Zeluco" as "Zelucco".' The *D.N.B.* would have told him that the novel was "Zeluco" and its author Dr. John Moore. The M. de Soyres mentioned on p. 122 may have been the same as a M. de Soyres. The name, however, was probably De Soyres. On p. 156 we hear that "John and Trewicke went . . . to Helegan to visit their fellow Etonian young Tremaine." No note is given. Heligan was however at Lower Sticker, ten miles short of Truro on the road from London, and belonged in 1826 to John Hearle Tremayne. Temple's relations with Boswell were so chequered by Boswell's drunkenness and Temple's peevishness that in spite of their long duration and Boswell's kindly nature it seems absurd to speak of them as constituting "the most intimate and the most romantic friendship that has ever subsisted between two English men of letters" (p. lxi). The first line of this page has a bad misprint.

The worst feature of this book, which is likely to be chiefly consulted for its references to other people than Temple, is that it has no Index.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

The Pepys Ballads. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. (Vol. I, 1535-1625, Nos. 1-45; Vol. II, 1625-1640, Nos. 46-90.) Harvard University Press: London, Humphrey Milford. 1929. Pp. xix+273; ix+257. Price \$3.50, 16s. net, per vol.

SEVEN years ago Professor Rollins made his first attack on the task of reprinting the 1700-odd broadsides in the Pepys Collection by including seventy-three of them in his *Pepysian Garland*.¹ He now

¹ It has possibly escaped Professor Rollins' notice that in 1861 John Camden Hotten announced as "preparing for publication" a *Garland of Pepysian Ballads, Historical, Romantic, and Humorous, some illustrating Shakespeare*, under the editorship of Edward F. Rimbault; but the book seems to have got no further.

presents, no less lavishly edited, "the two initial volumes of my edition of Samuel Pepys's collection," containing ninety more—the hitherto-unreprinted remnant of Pepys's first volume (No. 2505 in the Library). He still has the other four volumes 2506-2509, of later broadsides, confronting him; but it is to be hoped that the labour which has appalled others will at last be overcome. He naturally lightens his task by excluding broadsides already reprinted in the *Roxburghe* and *Bagford* series of the Ballad Society by the admirable Chappell and the diligent but freakish Ebsworth.

Professor Rollins is dealing with the broadside and not with Samuel Pepys, which must excuse his otherwise regrettable omission of Pepys's characteristic classification of his material under "Heads of Assortment," such as "Chap. I, Devotion and Morality," subdivided into "Scripture-Stories, Examples of Virtue & Vice, Death-Bed Repentances," etc., and "Chap. V, Love—Pleasant: Chap. VI, Do.—Unfortunate." It helps to remind the reader that the material of these broadsides was a compost of what would now be music-hall ditties and sensational journalism, and to suggest that, then as now, the quality of the words sung in "community singing" is overlooked for the sake of the tune or the mere fun of singing. Despite an occasional poem, like "Over the mountains and over the waves," the broadsides cannot pretend to much literary value; even when the ballad-hack used a good lyric, he extended the author's eight or ten stanzas to twenty. Professor Rollins prints (No. 9) Wither's famous five-stanza "Shall I wasting in despair" spun out in this manner to seventeen stanzas by omitting one of Wither's and adding thirteen. He has, by the way, overlooked the earliest version of the poem appended to Wither's first book *Fidelia*, of the private issue of which (1615) the Bodleian possesses a unique copy; but as it is almost certainly alluded to in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1610 is not too early a date to assign to the broadside, Wither being twenty-two in that year.

Professor Rollins's annotations are very complete. It is difficult to see any value in recording, as he does, that the first two lines of Wither's lyric "are sung by Stephen Guest in the seventh chapter of the sixth book of *The Mill on the Floss*"; that is a comment not on the broadside but on George Eliot's reading. The splendid woodcut to the *Luther* broadside (No. 1), to a reproduction of which, in a diminished size, Professor Rollins devotes two pages, was included in a copper engraving, and in a still smaller size, by Percy

in the *Reliques*. The MS. song of Agincourt placed by Pepys at the beginning of his first volume, and alluded to by Professor Rollins (p. 10), is not another version of the song in Bodleian MS., Arch. Seld. B. 26, but actually copied therefrom, as is indeed stated, though inaccurately, in the heading to Pepys's copy—"Ex Biblioth. Bodleiana Arch. B. Seld. 10." Pepys mentions the MS. in a letter to Humphrey Wanley dated April 10, 1701.

Professor Rollins proposes to conclude his task in four more volumes, adding the final boon of "indexes of first lines, tunes, titles, refrains, names, subjects, and words." How mightily pleased would Pepys be!

F. SIDGWICK.

The Whirligig of Taste. By E. E. KELLETT. **Nature in Literature.** By EDMUND BLUNDEN. Hogarth Lectures, Nos. 8 and 9. The Hogarth Press. 1929. Pp. 160, 156. 3s. 6d. each.

HOWEVER odious, it is almost inevitable that books which appear as part of a series should force comparisons upon their reviewer. Remembering, for example, the admirable second volume of these Hogarth Lectures, one is disappointedly conscious of a certain falling off in the two latest additions. The lecturers, one feels, are not so happy in their subjects, which do not readily adapt themselves to Hogarth length. Their themes are more suited either to an essay or a history, but not to this intermediate form which, in the present instances, coquettes with both and achieves neither. Mr. Blunden's book is written in a pleasantly allusive style, in keeping with his subject and neither overladen nor frustratingly recondite. Mr. Kellett sweeps his thesis down the centuries with an easy mastery of literary sequence. But whereas Mr. F. L. Lucas's penetrating lecture on *Tragedy* was emphatically one of those books which needed to be written, neither of these present volumes contributes in the same emphatic way to the pleasurable advancement of good learning. One does not feel that the authors wrote with that inner compulsive urgency that informs the true lecture with its proper zestful spirit.

Mr. Blunden, it is true, disarms criticism at the outset by the modesty of his own disclaimer. He describes his book as "partial

footnotes to a voluminous literature," put together "to encourage those who have an inclination to read, and be pleased with, some of the many books which have been written in England to the glory of Nature . . . ; to call attention to merit here and there which, according to my feeling, has not been rewarded with appreciation; and to throw what fresh light I can on some well-known triumphs on the theme of Nature." For his own deep pleasure in such writers as Coleridge, Keats, Collins, or Clare, honestly and quietly communicated, we are grateful to Mr. Blunden. Nevertheless, we expect from him a greater sense of direction. To what port is he guiding us? His book's effect on the mind is like that of a pleasantly rambling excursion which never reaches its vaguely promised goal, but lingers in a mildly profitable manner "by hedgerow elms and hillocks green."

This lack of plan and direction has the unfortunate result of conveying at least one impression that Mr. Blunden probably never intended. His first chapter—and, indeed, most of the subsequent illustration of his theme—gives us the feeling that nature in literature was the special invention of the eighteenth century and its writers. This is a pity, if part of his plan is the rescue of the unappreciated writers on country life. We look in vain for a word on behalf of the more neglected Elizabethans, who escaped from pastoralism into the accuracy and observation of such pieces as Breton's *Court and Country*, the anonymous *Civil and Uncivil Life*, Churchyard's *Spider and the Gout*, or the treatises of the somewhat better-known Tusser and Fitzherbert. It might also be urged with reason that in this business of rescue work quality counts more than Mr. Blunden seems to admit at the moment. Stephen Duck and Robert Bloomfield are all very well, but quotation from them looms disproportionately large when their excess must rob us of much better stuff from the neglected *Winter Morning's Walk*. Similarly, to keep within Mr. Blunden's favourite range, has Lady Winchelsea really been sufficiently "rescued" by Mr. Middleton Murry's recent selection? Would it not have been judicious to have omitted one Duck or Bloomfield extract for the sake of including perhaps the grazing horse of her *Nocturnal Reverie*?

Mr. Kellett's thesis is amply indicated by his title. The whirligig of taste brings in its own revenges. There are no absolute standards, just as "there is no such thing as history: there are only historians, and each decides according to his own bias." "Literary taste, like

every other human faculty, is the creature of the age, circumscribed by its limitations, stirred by its passions, warped by its defects." All is but taste, protean and unreliable. To what rock are we to cling, Mr. Kellett asks, amid the welter of conflicting literary opinion? But unless we entirely misunderstand his drift, the answer he gives is that there is no rock. The fact that Homer has satisfied "three thousand years and a hundred nations" must go for nothing. "One is never sure that, even if an author is widely admired or despised, he is admired or despised by different people *for the same qualities* . . . it is pretty certain that we to-day admire Homer for merits that did not so much appeal to the Greeks."

Mr. Kellett, we feel, has let himself be unduly impressed by superficialities. His attitude is neither simple enough nor yet sufficiently subtle. It is not simple enough to accept the normal point of view, which, finding Homer enjoyed still, tries to set forth what quality in him it is that has appealed in all ages. It is not sufficiently subtle to lure us into any logical quandary. He delivers himself up to attack throughout by his refusal to define his terms. He does not discriminate between popular taste and literary or critical taste, nor does he reckon with the difficulties involved by the necessary disentangling of contemporary popular and critical taste and the popular and critical tastes of posterity. He deals with his four categories as one, and so entirely fails to convince. Similarly, to Mr. Kellett criticism is criticism: it does not interest him to point out, for example, that the so-called criticism of the Elizabethan Age is not criticism at all, but a mass of didacticism, written by students of the ancient civilisation for a young nation that was then in the throes of fashioning for itself, out of the void, a great literature. Its relation both to the national creative impulse and to the popular taste of the day is insignificant, when compared with the criticism of a Dryden or a Jeffrey.

Mr. Kellett has been so intrigued by the amusing persistence of critical howlers from Gabriel Harvey onwards that for the sake of his own provocative conclusion and some neat writing he has sacrificed the truer apprehension. His self-contradictions should have warned him; if we are to take him seriously on the subject of Homer and taste and the durability of a classic, what are we to make of p. 76, where, speaking of the conflict between classic and popular dramatic methods in Elizabethan times, he says, "The decision of three hundred years has ratified the judgment of the contemporary crowd"

—"the case has been settled in a court from which it is not likely there will ever be an appeal"?

The author who attempts a subject of this kind achieves nothing unless he deals with the constant factors in human experience as well as the everchanging surface of opinion. What is at length acclaimed and remains great literature is that which expresses the quality of life itself, which has, as Professor Gilbert Murray puts it, "a vivid consciousness of values." Its expression and the adequacy thereof will vary from generation to generation, as verse and prose respond to the movement of speech. Even so, the surface change is in itself significant of the underlying permanency; a Donne breaking away from the stereotyped frigidity of Elizabethan sonneteering, a Pope revolting from the metaphysical extravagances of Donne's followers, and a Wordsworth putting away the "gaudy and inane phraseology" of Popeian degeneracy, all stand for a "return to nature" in language, in order that this "vivid consciousness of values" may be more vitally conveyed.

M. ST. C. BYRNE.

Arthur Symons als Kritiker der Literatur. VON MAX WILDI.

Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg. 1929.

Pp. 144. 9×6 in. Mk. 7.50.

THIS is number 67 in the series of *Anglistische Forschungen*, edited by Professor Johannes Hoops. Herr Wildi, choosing the form of the methodical and expository essay, has written a clear and useful, if not particularly original, study of Arthur Symons. He traces the changing lights reflected in Mr. Symons's critical writings from Pater, to whom he owes most, through French influences, Beardsley, Yeats, Wagner, Maeterlinck, and others. He recognises the intellectual subtlety, the wide range of Mr. Symons's gifts; but he is critical also, and notes the occasional lapses, the affectations, the false pitch, the growth of mannerism in place of true style, and he perceives the inability of Mr. Symons, as a young man, to derive anything from the classical element in Pater.

A more complete bibliographical list would have been no disadvantage to Herr Wildi's monograph.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.
Vol. XIV. Collected by H. W. GARROD. Oxford: Clarendon
Press. 1929. 8vo. Pp. 126. 7s. 6d. net.

THE bulk of this volume stands well within the bounds of the literature of knowledge, at a safe distance from the other category. Without disparagement to any individual contributor, it may be regretted that, with one exception, all should have confined themselves to subjects of such narrowly academic interest. The exception is Professor Elton, whose essay on "The Poet's Dictionary" supplies an important addition to the crop of literature already growing apace out of the *New English Dictionary*. The broad classification of language into literary, common, colloquial, slang admits further subdivision, when applied to poetry, into common, Biblical, archaic, "poetic diction" (Kennings and compounds), foreign, dialect, slang, technical, scientific and philosophical. These form the poet's armoury of equipment for that incessant struggle with words which every poet must face; and as such each of these categories provides matter for a comprehensive study to which Professor Elton's suggestive examples and comments give a good lead. In a Paper read to the Association in 1924 Mr. Percy Simpson discusses the text of *Dr. Faustus*, "a text so corrupted and overlaid by the work of other writers, mere playhouse hacks, that in only a fragment of the whole can we trace with certainty the hand of Marlowe." An authoritative judgment on the genuine Marlowe as distinct from the spurious hack is very welcome indeed, and Mr. Simpson's main case against the latter is irrefutable. Only on smaller points of detail—for instance, the assignment to Marlowe of the prose dialogue between Faustus and the three scholars—would any of his readers be likely to dissent, and here something will necessarily be allowed to individual taste. Professor Nichol Smith writes on the sources, analogues and stage history of Johnson's *Irene*, a bypath of literary history providing more diversions and stray matters of importance than at first sight the subject would promise. The three earlier plays on the same theme probably deserve no better fate than the oblivion in which they are buried. But it is interesting to learn that the Hyrin of George Peele's lost play "of the Turkish Mahamet and Hyrin the fair Greek" is none other than *Irene*, consequently that "Johnson missed an opportunity when he edited Shakespeare" through his ignorance of

the identity between Pistol's Hiren and the heroine of his own tragedy. Miss Janet Spens, in a study of Charlotte Brontë, has admirably performed her task of "analysing Charlotte Brontë's artistic processes and estimating in cold abstraction from the personality the value of her writing, her place in the history of the evolution of the novel." The analysis involves an examination of Brontë's debt to previous writers, particularly to Richardson, Mrs. Radcliffe, Scott, Southey and Beckford. A process of gradual emancipation from the traditions and conventions derived from such originals, rendered possible the assertion of personality culminating in *Villette*, which Miss Spens considers the greatest of Charlotte Brontë's books, "because in it the essence of her passionate, gloomy race finds expression." Professor Wright discusses the influence of Welsh literature, tradition and scenery upon Tennyson, in particular the relation between the two Idylls of Geraint and the *Mabinogion*. The comparison is all in favour of the later poet, except for an appended tribute to the "artless, unsophisticated charm about the tale, which of necessity evaporates in the more subtle and resplendent world of Tennyson"; but it might have been added that the evaporation of this "artless, unsophisticated charm" tends to destroy all semblance of the mediæval spirit which the idylls are ostensibly intended to express. Professor Tolkien devotes his article on "*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidhad*" to a comparison between the Corpus Christi MS. of the former and MS. Bodley 34, concluding that both are substantially in the very language of their originals and suggesting Herefordshire as their place of origin. The conclusions are supported by detailed evidence of agreement between the two MSS. in forms of verbs belonging to the third weak class, from Old English infinitives in *-ian*.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

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MS. copy of *Verses spoke . . . in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge*, with introductory lines.

John Donne and Lincoln's Inn (J. E. Butt), p. 318.

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The Life of Lord Berners (John H. McDill), p. 336.

Evidence of residence in England, 1526-31.

— April 24—

Sources of *Piers Plowman* (A. H. Bright), p. 352.

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Wordsworth's Journey from London to Orleans (J. R. MacGillivray), p. 352.

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The Participle in Wycliffe with Especial Reference to his Original English Works (Annie S. Irvine), pp. 5-68.

A Heroic Poem on the Death of Sir Thomas More. By D. Erasmus of Rotterdam (D. T. Starnes), pp. 69-81.

Arguments in favour of authenticity.

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